

JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY

VOL. 6

OCTOBER 1913

No. 4

SOME ETHICAL PHASES OF ESKIMO CULTURE

By ALBERT NICOLAY GILBERTSON, A. M.,
Fellow in Anthropology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

OUTLINE

1. Introduction.
2. General Description.
3. Social Order.
4. Custom in Relation to Morality.
5. "Ethnocentrism."
6. Taboos and Their Relation to Religion.
7. "Liberalism."
8. Law and Punishment.
9. Sociability and Politeness.
10. Sense of Justice and Mercy.
11. Homicide and War.
12. Truthfulness and Good Faith.
13. Gratitude.
14. Parent and Child.
15. Cannibalism.
16. Property and Trade.
17. Inheritance.
18. Theft.
19. Begging.
20. Gambling.
21. Marriage and Divorce.
22. Extra-nuptial Relations.
23. Position and Treatment of Women.
24. Conclusion.
25. Bibliography.

The writer desires to express his thanks to Dr. A. F. Chamberlain, under whom this study was made, for advice and criticism; and to Dr. Louis N. Wilson, Librarian of the University for his kindness in making available literature, otherwise inaccessible.

I. INTRODUCTION

A very common attitude toward the moral life of primitive peoples is that illustrated by the English gentleman, who, according to the story, wrote a book about certain tribes which he had

visited, one chapter of which, dealing with "customs and manners," consisted of four words: "Customs, beastly; manners, none." But a broader, truer view is fortunately coming to prevail, the result of study at once scientific and sympathetic, of peoples whose practices and standards differ from our own. A slight contribution to the understanding and appreciation of some ethical phases of the culture of one of the most interesting of the world's peoples is the aim of this study of the Eskimo.

In the study of morality, as well as of other phases of human culture, there are two general methods of investigation and presentation. One of these methods is best represented, in the field within which the present inquiry falls, by Westermarck's great work, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*. Thomas aptly compares this method to that developed by Pitt-Rivers for arranging specimens in a museum. By the Pitt-Rivers method,

"All the knives, throwing sticks, and other articles of a particular kind were brought together in one place, with a view to exhibiting the steps in the development of this article—and some very pretty effects were secured." (64: 857.)

But, as this authority goes on to say:

"Our great museums are now recognizing that it is, on the whole better to arrange materials on the principle of presenting the culture of a given region as a whole. No object can be completely understood when separated from the whole culture of which it is a part."

For a keen criticism of the first method, which is that employed by Spencer, Frazer, and many others, especially earlier writers, reference may be made to Dewey's essay on "The Interpretation of the Savage Mind." The advantages of the regional study of cultures is coming to be generally recognized. Cultural phenomena should be studied "in situ," in connection with the physical and social environment in which they are found. Haddon well sums up this position, in the conclusion of his *History of Anthropology* (23:154):

"Comparisons made within a given area or among cognate peoples have a greater value than those drawn from various parts of the world. What is most needed at the present day is intensive study of limited areas."

In the present study, the writer has endeavored to present the moral ideas and practices of the Eskimo in their relations to each other and to the physical, social and economic conditions. While

it is hoped that the facts recorded may be of value in throwing some light on the deeper and larger problems of the moral life of mankind, I have studiously tried to avoid alike unnecessary theoretical assumptions and conclusions unjustified by our present state of knowledge. "Premature generalizations" Haddon rightly regards as "the chief danger" to which anthropology is at present liable. It was Tylor who said that

"It is of as little use to be a good reasoner when there are no facts to reason upon, as it is to be a good bricklayer when there are no bricks to build with." (68: 56.)

It is sometimes painfully evident that those are not wanting who proceed upon the contrary supposition in many an erudite pretentious discourse on "primitive man" (i.e., what, according to the particular pet scientifico-philosophical scheme, he must logically have been).

The data used have been gathered largely from the accounts of men who write from personal experience with various branches of the Eskimo stock. Of course, no one man ever has, or likely ever will, come in actual contact with the Eskimo in *all* parts of their domain. The authorities are chiefly of two classes, Christian missionaries and Arctic explorers, among whom we include trained ethnologists, who went mainly, or exclusively, for purposes of anthropological investigation, as, for example, Boas. The literature on the Eskimo is perhaps, on the whole, more trustworthy than that on most of the other North American aborigines, as the geographical location and climatic conditions of their habitat have prevented the influx of the "summer vacation" type, hence there is not such an abundance of mere "travelers' tales." But even here fact and fancy are undoubtedly mixed in ways which it is often difficult or impossible to determine. The available material is of very uneven value for scientific purposes. I have taken into account factors which might influence the accuracy of the reports given, such as religious or racial prejudices, expert training and critical method, opportunities for observation, etc.

Another source from which material has been drawn is Eskimo folk-lore. Matthews says that (41: 2) "perhaps the safest way to discover the ethical notions of savages is by the study of their myths and traditions; but," he adds, "even here we must proceed with caution and employ the critical methods of modern

science." As to the value of folk-lore for the study of historical events there is the widest difference of opinion. (See 55: 307.) But, be that as it may; let us take, for the sake of argument, so to speak, Swanton's view that

"The major part of these tales record, not objective fact, but subjective belief, the popular conception of what ought to have happened, the sense of 'poetic justice' as it existed in the tribe from which it was obtained" (62: 4.),

and the importance of their study for our present purpose is as evident as if every detail had happened "just so." Also, to quote Rivers,

"The significance of the social setting and of incidental references to social events is very great, is obvious and generally admitted." (55: 311.)

So, all questions of history aside, folk-lore reflects the life of the people from which it sprang and reveals the ethical ideas of that people, although to interpret it correctly in this latter respect may often be difficult. I believe it was Ruskin who said that more important than the question whether there was a real Cincinnatus who left the plough in the furrow at a particular time is the knowledge about the ideas of manhood and patriotism of the ancient Romans which we get from that legend, if such it be.

The folk-lore of the Eskimo is peculiarly susceptible to this kind of study, for, as Boas has pointed out, in his excellent discussion of the general character of Eskimo folk-lore, "the most striking feature of Eskimo folk-lore is its thoroughly human character." With few exceptions, "the events which form the subject of their traditions occur in human society as it exists now." (7: 2.)

A word may be said of the copious use of the extracts in the *ipsissima verba* of the sources of my information. One reason for this has been to present an author's meaning in the most unambiguous way, and avoid possible misconstructions of his words. If the present writer has misunderstood any statement, the original will enable the reader to make necessary corrections. Then, too, as Haddon has expressed it, "a quotation brings one more face to face with the author than does a mere abstract" (*Evolution in Art*, Preface, p. vi).

Also I have not hesitated to give numerous concrete examples from Eskimo life, letting the Eskimo speak for themselves in

word and action whenever possible. Marett gives a quotation from Seligman, in which a Vedda cave-dweller says:

"It is pleasant for us to go out and dig yams, and come home wet, and see the fire burning in the cave, and sit round it."

Upon this Marett comments thus:

"That sort of remark shows more light on the anthropology of cave-life than all the bones and stones that I have helped to dig out of our Mousterian caves in Jersey."

He emphasizes the importance of such "human documents," in these words:

"We need to supplement the books of abstract theory with much sympathetic insight directed towards men and women in their concrete selfhood. To study the plot without studying the characters will never make sense of the drama of human life." (39: 242, 243.)

2. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Eskimoan linguistic stock is the northernmost branch of the human race. It is also one of the widest distributed of the world's peoples. Its territory extends from the east coast of Greenland and Labrador to the eastern part of Siberia, a distance of 5,000 miles. Thus, in the language of Latham (quoted, 15: 261) "the Eskimo is the only population clearly and indubitably common to the two Worlds, the Old and the New." The present study is confined to the Eskimo proper, not including the cognate Yuits of Siberia, or the natives of the Aleutian Islands.

The Eskimo were the first American aborigines to come in contact with Europeans. It is now the general consensus of authorities that the *Skraëllinger*, described by the early Norse discoverers, were Eskimo.

The two leading theories of the original home of the Eskimo are that of Rink, who regards it as the interior of Alaska, and that of Boas, who considers it probable that it was in the region west of Hudson Bay. The latter is now the more commonly accepted view.

Mason recognizes on the American continent, north of Mexico, twelve "ethnic environments" (28. 1: 427-430), in each of which there is "an ensemble of qualities that impressed themselves on their inhabitants and differentiated them." The characteristics of the *Arctic* environment, inhabited by the Eskimo include

"an intensely cold climate; about six months day and six months night; predominance of ice and snow; immense archipelagos, and no accessible elevations; good stone for lamps and tools; driftwood, but no timber, and little fruit; polar bear, blue fox, aquatic mammals in profusion, migratory birds, and fish, supplying food, clothing, fire, light, and other wants of an exacting climate."

In this environment, in the words of Chamberlain:

"The Eskimo have conquered a severe and thankless climate by the invention and perfection of the snow-house, the dog-sled, the oil-lamps (creating and sustaining social life and making extensive migrations possible), the harpoon and the *kayak* or skin-boat (the acme of adaptation of individual skill to environmental demands)." (14: 468.)

Their ability to successfully master such an environment, has aroused the wonder and admiration of all who have studied them.

"We should be wrong" declares Amundsen, "if from the weapons, implements and domestic appliances of these people, we were to argue that they were of low intelligence. Their implements, apparently so very primitive, proved to be as well adapted to their existing requirements and conditions as experience and the careful tests of many centuries could have made them." (1. 1: 294.)

And the world will never forget that of the six human beings who first reached the earth's north pole, four were Eskimo, and Peary voices the conviction of explorers of the frozen north when he says that "no more effective instruments for Arctic work could be imagined" and "their help is one of the elements without which it is possible that the North Pole might never have been reached." (48:42, 47.)

There is good reason for Haberlandt's opinion that

"When we consider their technical and nautical skill, their peaceful companionship and their works of art, it is impossible to regard the Eskimo as one of the lower types of civilization." (22: 144.)

A sympathetic, yet impartial, survey of the life of this people, will, I think, force everyone to agree with Chamberlain that "to the student of America's past, there can be no tribe, no nation, so interesting" as the Eskimo. (15:261.)

3. SOCIAL ORDER

The conditions of their habitat and the struggle for existence have necessitated, if the Eskimo were to survive, the two most salient features of their social order—isolation and solidarity,

that is, living in small scattered groups, the members of each of which are bound together by intense unity. As Nansen says

“The men of some tribes or races are driven to combine with each other by the pressure of human enemies, others by inhospitable natural surroundings. The latter has been the case with the Eskimo.” (43: 119.)

And the scarcity of the food-supply likewise forces them to observe the rule, “Divide et impera.” Sutherland, in his ingenious and suggestive classification of the world’s peoples (61. 1: 104), puts the Eskimo together with most of the North American aborigines, in the class of “higher savages,” who, according to his scheme, live in groups of 50 to 200. The number given is, I believe, fairly correct for the Eskimo communities.

The gentile system of social organization, so prominent among many Indian stocks, seems to be foreign to Eskimo culture (42: 42; 35: 21; 17: 145). With the possible exception of the Western Eskimo, Rink regards its maintenance as “incompatible with the extraordinary dispersion, the scanty intercourse between the small communities into which the nation always tends to divide” (52: 22), also,

“a strict rule of a married couple living with either the relatives of the husband or the wife, could not be preserved by people whose sustenance was dependent on choosing the most favorable hunting stations.” (52: 23.)

Nelson claims to have found among certain Alaskan Eskimo “a regular system of totem marks and the accompanying subdivision of the people into gentes” (p. 322; for his evidence see pp. 322-27). This, especially in the presence of contradictory evidence, does not seem to be conclusive. (See 42: 42; 35: 21; 17: 145; 3.) Even less probable is Gordon’s theory that the custom of tattooing employed by the Eskimo is “a surviving evidence of a full totemic system.” (Quoted by Chamberlain, *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 20, p. 80.)

Consequently, when we speak of “tribes” among the Eskimo, we do not use that term in the sense of an organization built on a certain relation between clans or gentes. The usage is primarily geographical. To quote from Rink’s *Eskimo Tribes*, “as to the Eskimo it will imply the possession of a territory and generally of a dialect in the strictest sense.” (52: 24; see also 3. Introduction, xii; 30: 143.)

Peary’s statement that the Eskimo are nomads, and “seldom

live more than a year or two in one place" (48:42), does not seem to hold as a general characterization. Rather it appears more correct to hold, with Barnum that, while "on account of the difficulty of obtaining food, the Innuits are forced to travel about a great deal, yet they are not a nomadic race" (3. xii). So, too, Rink asserts that

"the Eskimo may more properly be classed among the people having fixed dwellings than among the wandering nations, because they generally winter the same places through even more than one generation, so that love of their birthplace is a rather predominant feature in their character." (53. 9; for a use of love of home in folk-lore see 53: 466.)

Crantz suggests that their belief that the soul may remain at home, while the man is away on the chase, is due to homesickness.

The subdivisions of Eskimo society fall under three heads, the *family*, the *housemates*, and the *place-fellows*.

The *family* consists of the parents and children, together with relatives by adoption, also by marriage, whenever a married child remains in the parental home. The father is regarded as the head of the family, but as Murdoch says, his rule is "founded more on respect and mutual agreement than on despotic authority." (42:427; cf. 66:190.)

Boas emphasizes the place of kinship in Eskimo society when he says, "the social order of the Eskimo is entirely founded on the ties of consanguinity and affinity between the individual families" (5:578). According to Holm, "the bond of blood is regarded as an obligation to stand by each other under all circumstances." (30: 87.) Rink cites the rather complicated system of kinship terms and the ability to remember relatives several generations back as evidence of the importance of relationship to Eskimo thought. (52:22.) Even if the family is divided by removals to distant settlements, the obligations of kinship are in force whenever mutual aid is required. (See 53:25.)

Holm narrates an incident from real life, illustrating the bond between brothers and sisters.

A hunter at a village named Nojarik had caught a narwhal. In a village called Sermilik he had a married sister. In the winter no one goes to visit between these two places. But this brother undertook the long and perilous journey, carrying a large package of meat in a band about the forehead. "He was very much afraid that she should suffer

want, while he had abundance." In a sharp north wind and over a difficult country, he covered the 8 miles (Danish). It was toward evening when he came to the lodge of the Danish expedition. He was invited to remain over night. "He did not have time to stay, but continued his way into the falling darkness." (30: 174.)

Folk-lore also gives frequent expression to this feeling. The beginning of a Greenland tale, "Several brothers had an only sister, whom they loved dearly and were very loth to part with' (53: 404), is typical. In another,

A young wife, who has given birth to her first-born, on being asked why she looked so sad, said, "It is because of our baby boy; I would like him so much to go and see his mother's brothers. I cannot forget those dear ones, and that is why I have grown so silent." When her brothers were informed of her arrival at the old home, "each of them cried, 'Oh, my dear sister! ye have not cared for her as I have! ye have not missed her so much neither; ye have not longed so much for her as I have done.' And each of them wanted to be the first to greet her, and to take hold of her. . . . The brothers stayed at home all day, and for joy at the meeting could do naught but sit down together and regard each other lovingly." (53: 209, 211.)

Folk-lore also tells of brothers who defend their sister against her husband. (53: 431.)

An interesting custom is reported from Bering Strait. In warfare, "if a man had relatives in the opposing party, and for this reason did not wish to take part in the battle, he would blacken his face with charcoal and remain a non-combatant, both sides respecting his neutrality." (45: 329.)

For further data on kinship see under "*Children*," "*Marriage*," "*Punishment*."

The second kind of community comprises the *housemates*. In this case more than one family live in the same house. For such a plan to be carried out, the agreement of all the families concerned is required. As a general custom, this form of community seems to be confined to Greenland, where it has been described by numerous writers. (16. 1: 165, 170; 53: 26; 52: 25; 54: 142; 30: 85; 43: 79.) The most highly developed form of this community-house is found in East Greenland, where there is only one house at each settlement. There is thus no difference between housemates and place-fellows. The number of inmates in one house described by Holm ran as high as 58. The Greenland common house consists of only one room, marked off for the

several families. In a space four feet wide lived a man with two wives and seven children.

Each family maintains its own household, but "among the heads of the several families one was generally found who was held in higher esteem than the rest by all the housemates. (53: 26.) This man acts as a kind of head of the house-community. "His position rests mostly on a tacit recognition of his authority." (30: 86.) He is generally the oldest man, if this particular person is or has been a good hunter or has sons who are good hunters. He is regarded as the host when visitors come to the house; he determines the dividing and ordering of the house. He enjoins when they are to move into the house in the autumn, "for all the families must move in simultaneously, in order to warm up the house." (30: 86.) In the summer, when the Eskimo live in tents, the families have separate quarters. (See also 16. 1: 165; 52: 24-26.)

The third and largest community is made up of the *place-fellows*, that is, inhabitants of the same village or wintering station. According to Rink,

"still less than among the housemates was any one belonging to such a place to be considered as chief, or as endowed with any authority to command his place-mates."

He points out that

"The folk-lore in many cases shows how men who had succeeded in acquiring such power were considered as usurpers of undue authority, and vanquishing or killing them ranked as a benefit to the community in general." (53: 27.)

Nelson states,

"The Alaskan Eskimo have no recognized chiefs, except such as gain a certain influence over their fellow-villagers through superior shrewdness, wisdom, age, wealth, or shamanism. The old men are listened to with respect, and there are usually one or more in each village who by their extended acquaintance with the traditions, customs, and rites connected with the festivals, as well as being possessed of an unusual degree of common sense, are deferred to and act as chief advisers of the community." Such a leader is known by a term, meaning "the one to whom all listen." (45: 304.)

"All Eskimo villages have a headman, whose influence is obtained through the general belief of his fellow villagers in his superior ability and good judgment. These men possess no fixed authority, but are respected, and their directions are generally heeded." (To the same effect, 42: 427; 66: 193.)

Nelson adds that, "in some cases, a headman may be succeeded by his son"—note this clause—"when the latter has the necessary qualities." Boas reports that on the west coast of Hudson Bay cases are known where the leadership passed from father to son; but there, too, the latter succeeds as leader "on account of his ability." The blessing invoked by an aged leader on his grandson was "that he might become a great hunter and whaleman." (6:115.) Nowhere does there appear any leadership by right of birth. Holmberg's statement about "hereditary chiefs," among certain Alaskan tribes, can be accepted only as perhaps referring to cases like those recorded by Nelson and Boas. (32:78. See also 47. 2:236; 3. Introduction, xii; 1. 2:27; 21:390; 48:65.)

4. CUSTOM IN RELATION TO MORALITY

The study of morality is intimately bound up with that of custom. As we know, the term "ethics" comes from the Greek "ethos," meaning custom or usage. Of like signification is the Latin "mores," from which we have our word "moral." As Westermarck says, "Society is the birthplace of the moral consciousness," and "tribal custom was the earliest rule of duty." (71. 1:118-119.) We should, however, be rather critical toward attempts to draw distinctions between "primitive" and "civilized" people on the basis of the relative importance of instinct, custom, and reason in determining conduct. (See Kroeber, 36:437.) This is not to deny the force of custom in primitive society, but to point out its operation in civilization as well.

The adherence of the Eskimo to custom has been noted by most observers of their culture. For example, Rasmussen states that they

"base their ideas of life on a series of legends and customs which have been handed down by oral tradition for untold generations. Their dead forefathers, they said, enshrined all their experiences in what they related to those who come after them. And none may accuse the dead of untrustworthiness. *Wisdom goes in retrograde direction* [italics mine]; none can measure himself with the fathers of the race, none can defy sickness and misfortune, and therefore people are still subject to the old prohibitions." (50:99.)

Nelson says,

"The only feeling of conscience or moral duty noted seemed an instinctive desire to do that which was most conducive to the general good

of the community, as looked at from their point of view. Whatever experience has taught them to be best is done, guided by superstitious usages and customs." (45: 294.)

The Greenlanders' conception of evil, was, to quote Rink "all that was contrary to the laws and customs, as regulated by the *angakoks*." So when the Danish missionaries presented to them the Christian views, the Eskimo "conceived the idea of virtue and sin as what was pleasing or displeasing to the Europeans, as according or disagreeing with their customs and laws." (51: 201.)

The Eskimo are pronounced a very conservative people. In the words of Boas,

"The language, as well as the traditions of the Eskimo, points out an exceptionally high degree of conservatism among this people. The tenacity with which small peculiarities in the type of implements are retained by each tribe throws a new light upon this conservatism, which, while characteristic of most primitive people, is in few cases as well developed as among the Eskimo." (6: 375; Cf. 33: 316; 3. Introduction, xvii.).

5. "ETHNOCENTRISM"

Closely connected with this conservatism is the trait which Sumner has called "ethnocentrism," the basis of what is known in civilized countries as patriotism, with its perversions in "chauvinism" and "jingoism."

Peary remarks:

"Much nonsense has been told by travelers in remote lands about the aborigines' regarding as gods the white men who come to them, but I have never placed much credence in these stories. My own experience has been that the aborigine is just as content with his own way as we are with ours, just as convinced of his own superior knowledge, and that he adjusts himself with his knowledge in regard to things in the same way that we do."

It is a question how much racial egotism should be read into the well-nigh universal usage of an ethnic group's calling itself "human beings" or "people," in the Eskimo language, *Innuvit*. It is perhaps only a natural and convenient term for designating their own folk, sometimes the only human being of whom they know. Among the Point Barrow Eskimo, "Inuin" includes white men as well as Eskimo, and Murdoch is of the opinion that this is true everywhere (42: 42), even though there are special names for other nations, the most common word for Europeans or white men being "Kablunak." Language does undoubtedly

reveal a mental attitude in such cases, as at Norton Sound, where the Eskimo speak of themselves as the "fine or complete people," and their neighbors, the Tinné Indians, by a name meaning "louse-egg." Cartwright considered it the highest honor that could be paid him by the natives of Labrador when they dubbed him an Eskimo. (12: 110.)

Crantz says,

"The Greenlanders consider themselves as the only civilized nation in the world" (16: 149); "they are far superior in their own estimation to the Europeans, who supply an inexhaustible subject of raillery for their social parties." (16. 125.)

The Eskimo of Point Barrow consider themselves the equals if not the superiors of the white men with whom they have to deal;

"they do not appreciate the attitude of arrogant superiority adopted by many white men in their intercourse with so-called savages." (42: 42.)

Even Nature is regarded as partial to the Eskimo. "Our world up here does not love strangers," they told Rasmussen; that was the reason the water did not freeze over at the usual and desired season. (50: 83.)

There is also a disposition for a local group to look down upon other Eskimo; there is what we would call sectionalism. Of course one factor here may be ignorance, re-enforced by imagination, as in Stefánsson's experience. (59: 176.) "Only here in this place are to be found the big storytellers," of a song recorded by Thalbitzer (63: 309), is typical of a common Eskimo attitude. The following curious experience of Holm is *à propos*.

"Before we reached Angmagsalik, the other Eastlanders told us that only bad people lived there. When we came to Tasinsarsik on the Angmagsalik fjord, the inhabitants said that the people on the other side of the fjord were bad people. . . . When we later spoke with the inhabitants of the other part of the fjord, we were told that at their settlement there were only good people, but that people we had not yet seen were bad. At last, it turned out that there were only good people on Angmagsalik fjord, and that the bad ones were dead or had moved to Sermiligak." (30; 167.)

Several writers admit that, even from a Kabluna point of view, there is not a little justification for the Eskimo's self-esteem. Crantz, who is not disposed to exaggerate the Eskimo's good qualities, gives as the reason of their sense of superiority that "many improprieties which they observe too frequently in the

conduct of Europeans, seldom or never occur amongst them." He assigns this as the cause of their "usual remark on seeing a foreigner of gentle and modest manners: 'He is almost as well-bred as we,' or 'He begins to be a man,' that is, a Greenland." (16. 1: 126.) In like manner, Paul Egede, also a missionary, observes that

"they lived less culpably than most of the Christians sent here," and quotes an Eskimo as saying, "Perhaps if we got the knowledge you have, we would become as bad as your people."

Egede adds:

"They have even thought there could not be found decent people among us, unless they had been some months in Greenland and learned good manners, and it is certain that these heathen put many of our Christians to shame by their good behavior." (20: 150; cf. 49.)

The "ethnocentrism" of the Eskimo, like their other mental traits, is bound up with what Dewey has described as the hunting psychosis, which is one type of what we may designate the occupational psychosis. This furnishes the key to many otherwise puzzling ideas and practices. They make ability in the sphere of their peculiar activities the standard of both individual and national worth. Of the Greenlanders we are told that

"their own inimitable dexterity in seal-catching, the main business of their lives, and the only pursuit which is indispensably necessary to them, supplies sufficient food for their over-weening self-conceit." (16. 1: 125.)

In order to be respected, Europeans had to learn their arts, especially the use of the kayak with Eskimo dexterity. They inquired if the king of Denmark and Norway had captured many whales, or if he was a great angakok, the two supreme attainments known to them. (20: 30; cf. 12: 123; 46: 52, comments by Eskimo.)

6. TABOOS AND THEIR RELATION TO RELIGION

A prominent place in the customary morality of the Eskimo is occupied by the prohibitions known as taboos. They are restrictions chiefly of diet and work, food-taboos and rest-taboos. The occasions which are hedged about with taboos are various critical events, such as birth, death, and the chase. So-called *puberty* rites, with accompanying taboos, seem to be unknown, except among certain Alaskan Eskimo, and then only pertaining to

girls. (2: 1: 82; 32: 121; 45: 291.) Holmberg states that the customs he describes are identical with those of the Tlinkit Indians, and like so many other features of Alaskan culture, they are likely borrowed from the neighboring peoples. The behavior of women during *pregnancy* (6: 143) and *menstruation* (5: 516; 6: 120, 150, 478; 20: 116; 32: 122) is strictly regulated. Rules about the conduct of women after *child-birth* are numerous and complicated. (5: 610; 6: 125, 143, 158, 484, 514; 26: 217, 351; 19: 115; 42: 415; 53: 54; 16: 1: 199; 34: 233.) *Premature birth* calls for particularly rigid rules. (6: 121, 125, 358, 504.) The occasion for more taboos, perhaps, than any other event, is *death*. (5: 610, 613; 6: 120, 125, 144, 148; 53: 299; 30: 105, 113; 19: 82; 16: 1: 216; 26: 186, 265; 43: 137; 34: 207; 66: 191; 32: 122; 42: 424; 1: 1: 334.) Lastly, there are regulations immediately connected with the chase, aside from taboos prescribed for other occasions, affecting the activities of the hunter. (5: 578, 587, 596; 6: 147, 149, 595; 42: 264, 274, 434; 26: 64; 69: 432, 440; 16: 1: 199; 34: 123; 30: 76; 66: 201; 1: 1: 277.) We cannot enter into any detailed description of these unnumbered taboos. Reference must be made to the original sources for such information. But we will, however, touch upon some of the reasons assigned for these rules, as being of interest to our present study.

This leads to a consideration of the religious beliefs of the Eskimo, as far as these are related to the customs we are now considering. In the words of Rasmussen, "These rules form the nucleus of their religious ideas." (50: 83; cf. 53: 63.)

The beliefs of the Eskimo about the supernatural are extremely difficult to determine, both because of the inherent difficulty of learning their exact thoughts on this matter, and the apparent vagueness and fluidity of their concepts about the extramundane world.

They have no idea of a creator, or one supreme being (19: 108; 69: 437; 45: 427), but have a belief in a multitude of supernatural beings. The most important of these are known as "inua," or owners, a word which has a common derivation with *innuit*. (See 43: 225; 69: 437; 42: 430; 19: 110; 66: 193; 45: 427.)

"Some of these spirits are more powerful than others just as some men are more skilful and shrewd than others. Their ideas of the invisible world are based on conditions of the present life with which they are familiar." (45: 428.)

The "inua" are imperceptible to the ordinary organs of sense, except in rare instances. They manifest themselves to particularly gifted persons, such as the angakoks, or to animals, that are endowed with a peculiar sense, described by a word meaning literally "not being unconscious of anything." (53:43.) Rink says:

"Strictly speaking, any object, or combination of objects, existing either in a physical or spiritual point of view, may be said to have its inua, if only, in some way or other, it can be said to form a separate idea." (53: 37; cf. 43: 225.)

The angakoks, or magicians, have intercourse with the supernatural world by the aid of familiar spirits, called tornaks. There are traces of a rather indefinite belief in a great spirit, who has minor tornaks under his control. He is called Tornarsuk. Nansen thinks that the identification of this being with the devil by the missionaries has a great deal to do with his exalted position in Eskimo thought. Paul Egede tells of a dispute concerning Tornarsuk's immortality, some saying he cannot die, others holding that he can be killed; special care must be taken during incantations not to cause his death. (43: 73, 197.)

The most conspicuous character in Eskimo mythology is a woman, generally known, from her name among some of the Central tribes, as Sedna. One of the most widespread of Eskimo myths is that of the origin of Sedna. She is said to have refused to marry the man selected for her by her father, so the latter threw her overboard. When she tried to save herself, he cut off her fingers. These became various marine animals. She lives at the bottom of the sea and, to use the words of Boas, "she has supreme sway over the destinies of mankind," (6:119) through her control of the offshoots of her hand, which are the Eskimo's principal means of subsistence. (19:111; 69:440; 33:43; 30:114; 52:17; 5:583; 43:150; see Miss Wardle's study of the Sedna cycle, 71:568-580.)

A large place is held also by the souls of the dead. Honor must be paid to them and the death-taboos must be observed, for the dead are very powerful. A human being, according to the Eskimo, consists of at least two parts, *body* and *soul*. Sometimes a third part is spoken of, identified with the *name*. Also there is found a belief in several souls. Thus in East Greenland,

"a man has many souls. The largest dwell in the larynx and in the left side, and are tiny men about the size of a sparrow. The other souls dwell in other parts of the body and are the size of a finger joint. If one of them is taken away, its particular member sickens." (30: 112.)

The soul can be seen under certain conditions by the angakoks. There is evidence, linguistic and otherwise, connecting the soul with the shadow and the breath. (43: 226.) The soul can leave the body, as in dreams. It can be lost, or stolen by witchcraft. Refusal to be photographed can be thus explained. Nelson tells an incident where an Eskimo, on seeing the figures on the ground glass of a camera, shouted to his fellows, "He has all of your shades in his box," whereupon "a panic ensued among the group and in an instant they disappeared in their houses." (45: 422; cf. 1. 2: 11; 33: 41. For similar fear of having writing in a book in their presence, see 4: 396.) The loss of the soul results in illness, which can be cured by the angakok's fetching the soul back again:

"The strangest thing of all is that the soul could not only be lost in its entirety, but that pieces of it could also go astray; and the angakok had to be called to patch it up." (43: 228; cf. 50: 101.)

Animals too have their souls, with similar attributes to the human. (45: 423; 50: 111.) Indeed the two soul-species, if we may so call them, appear to be interchangeable. The angakoks sometimes provide a man whose soul has been lost beyond recovery, with a new one obtained from some animal. (43: 228.)

Now the animals, like the souls of the dead, are offended by the transgression of taboos. The best account of this feature, in its relation to the Sedna belief, is given by Boas, in his description of the Eskimo of Cumberland Sound and Hudson Bay. The violation of a taboo, proscribed after the killing of certain sea-animals, becomes attached to the soul of the slain animal, that takes it down to Sedna. The attachments cause her pain, for which she punishes the guilty people, by sending them sickness, bad weather, and starvation.

"If, on the other hand, all taboos have been observed, the sea-animals will allow themselves to be caught: they will even come to meet hunters."

This shows as Boas points out, that

"The object of the innumerable taboos that are in force after the killing of these sea-animals is to keep their souls free from attachments that would hurt their souls as well as Sedna" (6: 120).

But not only offences which directly pertain to the animals bring about these consequences. Among all the Eskimo is found the dread of touching dead bodies and rules for those who have from necessity or accident done so.

"The souls of the sea-animals are endowed with greater powers than those of ordinary human beings. They can see the effect of contact with a corpse, which causes objects touched by it to appear dark in color; and they can see the effect of flowing human blood, from which a vapor arises that surrounds the bleeding person and is communicated to every one and every thing that comes in contact with such a person. This vapor and the dark color of death are exceedingly unpleasant to the souls of the sea-animals, that will not come near a hunter thus affected. The hunter must therefore avoid contact with people who have touched a body, or with those who are bleeding, more particularly with menstruating women and or with those who have recently given birth. If any one who has touched a body or who is bleeding should allow others to come in contact with him, he would cause them to become distasteful to the seals, and therefore to Sedna as well. For this reason custom demands that every person must at once announce if he has touched a body, and that women must make known when they are menstruating or when they have had a miscarriage. If they do not do so, they will bring ill luck to all the hunters." (Cf. 5: 583-595.)

"The transgressions of taboos do not affect the souls of game alone. It has already been stated that the sea-mammals see their effect upon man also, who appears to them of a dark color, or surrounded by a vapor which is invisible to ordinary man. This means, of course, that the transgression also affects the soul of the evil-doer. It becomes attached to it, and makes him sick. The angakok is able to see these attachments with the help of his guardian spirit, and is able to free the soul from them. If this is not done, the person must die. In many cases the transgressions become fastened also to persons who come in contact with the evil-doer. This is especially true of children, to whose souls the sins of their parents, and particularly of their mothers, become readily attached. Therefore, when a child is sick, the angakok, first of all asks its mother if she has transgressed any taboos." (Cf. 26: 243.)

"One of the most remarkable traits among the Central Eskimo," as Boas calls it, is the belief that "a transgression, or as we might say, a sin, can be atoned for by confession." (5: 121, cf. 5: 491, 504, 512; 6: 592.) He notes some features of Greenland religious beliefs, which indicate a similar faith in the efficacy of confession. (53: 45, 391, 440.) The angiak, or spirit of a child born prematurely, he regards as "originally identical with attachment of the soul produced by transgression, more

particularly with that produced by the unconfessed secret abortion among the central Eskimo." (6:358.) The dire consequences of concealing or denying crimes other than taboo-violations, in this case murder, is illustrated in a tale recorded by Rasmussen. (50:128.)

Boas is of the opinion that this idea that the confession in itself is the atonement for transgression has been derived from "the importance of the confession of a transgression, with a view to warning others to keep at a distance from the transgressor," in order to avoid contamination in the way we have noted. (6:121.)

He concludes that "among all the Eskimo tribes the underlying idea of the taboo is the protection of the souls of the dead, men as well as animals." He observes that, while taboos are found in all parts of the earth, "they are not, however, always primarily connected with the idea of protecting the souls of the deceased." He recognizes, therefore, in the Eskimo belief

"a specialized form of a more general belief. It must have existed in this specialized form among the ancestors of all the Eskimo tribes, since it is found now among all the tribes of this people."

"Among the Central tribes this group of beliefs appears still more systematized by combining the idea of the protection of the soul with that of a protectress of the sea-animals. Not only is the soul of the dead animal hurt by the infraction of the taboo, but the protectress of the animal herself is affected." (p. 365.)

The historical origins of the taboos are hid in obscurity. The Eskimo themselves rarely have any tradition as to how they arose. As we have seen, their all-sufficient answer is the immemorial usage of their ancestors. One tradition is reported from Cumberland Sound, according to which "in the early times of our world two beings gave advice to the people, saying that when they should become numerous they would have to obey certain customs." (6:143.)

One striking feature of the Eskimo taboos we may note here. As Boas says, "it seems that practically everywhere among the Eskimo a considerable number of taboos have the effect of preventing contact between land-animals- and sea-animals." (6:569.) There is a tradition among the central Eskimo which accounts for the origin of the walrus and the caribou and a supposed dislike between these two animals. (6:122.)

Boas has presented what, he himself rightly says, "seems an attractive hypothesis" (6:570), and it may be added, a very suggestive one, for the explanation for this group of taboos. To state it in his own words:

"The Eskimo taboo forbidding the use of caribou and of seal on the same day may be due to the alternating inland and coast life of the people. When they hunt inland, they have no seals, and consequently can eat only caribou, and of course, when they hunt sea-animals, this is reversed.

"From the simple fact that for a long period the two kinds of meat could not be eaten at the same time, the law developed that the two kinds of meat must not be eaten at the same time." (9: 222.)

A good summary of the fundamental ideas of the Eskimo on the *raison d'être* of this striking feature of their moral and religious life is furnished in the explanations given Rasmussen.

"We do not believe in any God, as you do," the Eskimo said. "We do not all understand the hidden things, but we believe people who say they do. We believe our magicians, and we believe them because we wish to live long, and because we do not want to expose ourselves to the danger of famine and starvation. We believe, in order to make our lives and our food secure. If we did not believe the magicians, the animals we hunt would make themselves invisible to us; if we did not follow their advice, we should fall ill and die." (50: 123.)

"We observe our old customs, in order to hold the world up, for the powers must not be offended. . . . We observe our customs in order to hold each other up; we are afraid of the great evil. Men are so helpless in face of illness. The people here do penance, because the dead are strong in their vital sap, and boundless in their might. If we did not take these precautions we believe that great masses of snow would slide down and destroy us, that snowstorms would lay us waste, that the sea would rise in violent waves while we are out in our kayaks, or that a flood would sweep our houses out into the sea." (50: 124.)

Typical of the legends which are related to show "the recoil of the action on the doer," as it is aptly called, is one recorded by Rasmussen, "The man who did not perform his penance."

This individual had buried his wife, "but refused to observe the penances that are imposed on those who have handled corpses. He did not believe in the precepts of his forefathers, he said." He deliberately did many things which he was forbidden to do, in order "to fling defiance at what his countrymen believed. It was all lies, he said." But one day he was found torn to pieces, "just as the spirits always do treat people," so the tale ends, "who will not believe in the traditions of their fathers." (50: 133.)

7. "LIBERALISM"

It would not be fair, however, to leave the consideration of the attitude of the Eskimo on customs at this point, as many are inclined to do, in the case of the Eskimo, as of primitive peoples in general. For there is another side to the matter. The Eskimo mind is not so "ethnocentric" and "conservative," unsusceptible to new influences or unappreciative of the good in others, as the foregoing might lead one to conclude, if that were all that was said. First, what is the cause of conservatism among them? Is it the inherent state of the brain of primitive man? The answer is rather that we must look for it in the conditions of their environment and history. In their hand-to-hand struggle for existence it is indispensable to survival that they adhere to those things which have been tried by the experience of generations. "Is it not wiser to bow to it, and obey, when you are too ignorant to draw up anything better for yourself." (50:99.) They admit that even their wisest angakoks are not omniscient nor the traditional means of controlling destiny infallible. As Rasmussen tells us, their religious conceptions "*are to them, not the only possible ones, but merely the best that they know*, through the traditions of their forefathers." (50:124.) He quotes the Eskimo as saying;

"If any one with a better teaching would come to us and demand that we believe his words, we would do so willingly, if we saw that his teaching was really better than ours. Yes, tell us the right, and convince us that it is right, and we will believe you."

Appreciation of the advantages of the white men is not wanting. They confided to Paul Egede:

"You know so much, for you go about the whole world both by land and water. We know nothing but what our ancestors have told us." (20: 164; cf. 20: 23; 46; 52; 12: 123; 16. 1: 125.)

The Eskimo are noted for two traits which are avenues of new influences, curiosity and imitativeness. Murdoch writes of the natives of Point Barrow, "Their curiosity is unbounded and they have no hesitation in gratifying it by unlimited questioning." (42:42.) Their extreme politeness tends to counteract the expression of their curiosity. Stefánsson found Eskimo who had not been in contact with white men, did not pry into others' affairs. (58:200.) Peary says that

"an intense and restless curiosity is one of the peculiar characteristics of these people. If confronted with a package containing various supplies unknown to them, they will not rest until they have examined every article of the lot, touched it, turned it over, and even tasted it." An old woman walked a hundred miles to see a white woman (Mrs. Peary). (48: 45.)

The same authority attributes to them a "marked capacity for imitation." (48: 61.) They very soon master the use of the tools and mechanical arts of civilized people, and readily adopt such as serve their purposes, as for instance, the rifle. Their ability "to do the white man's work with the white man's tools," as Peary puts it, has been an indispensable factor in Arctic exploration. (48: 62, see also 30: 181; 42: 41.) Dewey's words, concerning the mind of a hunting people, can be applied literally to the Eskimo:

"Their attention is mobile and fluid as is their life; they are eager to the point of greed for anything which will fit into their dramatic situations so as to intensify skill and increase emotion." (18: 225.)

Hutton speaks of their imitativeness as

"a peg to hang things on in teaching them new ways." He exclaims, "Imitate! I have never seen any one to equal them, and they imitate so thoroughly too." (33: 313.)

Indeed, there appears to be more danger from too ready imitation of the not always desirable traits of the white men than from too great adherence to their own time-honored ways. (See 30: 172; 1. 2: 62, 91.)

That the Eskimo manifest not only imitativeness, but inventiveness, no one will question who is familiar with their remarkable triumphs in that line, an inventiveness no less, when their environment and resources are considered, than that of our own branch of mankind. They are even experimenters in theoretical problems, as is evidenced by an account given by Mason.

"They often make invention a part of their sport. They go out to certain difficult places, and having imagined themselves in certain straits, they compare notes as to what each one would do. They actually make experiments, setting one another problems in invention." (40: 23).

Our position that it is environment and not heredity, to use that much overworked antithesis, which accounts for their conservatism, especially in matters of religious belief and practice, where it is most pronounced, is strikingly supported by Ras-

mussen's account of the breakdown of the ancient religion among the natives of the extreme north of Greenland.

While "the great majority," writes Rasmussen, still "believe blindly in the magician's capacity to make use of supernatural forces, and the few sceptics who, in an ordinary way, represent a certain opposition, are equally *keen adherents of the mysteries at crucial moments* [italics mine], yet "their magic arts are degenerating and growing more and more simplified. The Polar Eskimo are well-to-do folk; there are animals enough in the sea and meat in abundance; they are strong, healthy, energetic people, possessing a sufficiency of the necessities of life as demanded by an existence which is, according to their ideas, free from care. This state of things is doubtless the reason why the angakok system is not so highly developed there as, for instance, it has been on the east coast, where the struggle for existence seems to be much more severe, and where the failure of the fishery, and as a consequence famine, have been more frequent."

"The Polar Eskimo do not require to make constant appeals to the supernatural powers, and that is why their magicians have gradually forgotten the magic arts of their fathers." (50: 156.)

8. LAW AND PUNISHMENT

The Eskimo have, of course, no documentary code of laws, nor have they any established tribunals of administration and judication. But, among them, "customs have, by their long standing, acquired the force of laws." (16. 1:168.) With regard to the execution of these traditional laws we may quote Rink (53: 32; cf. 52: 24):

"With the exception of the part of the angakoks, or the relatives of the offended person, took in inflicting punishment upon the delinquent, *public opinion formed the judgment seat.*" (Italics mine.)

The common method of punishment is the putting of the offender to shame in the eyes of the public; in some more serious cases, he is expelled from the community; only in rare and extreme cases are forcible measures taken. It is, however, incorrect to say that "crimes, if committed, go unpunished." (23: 80.)

The chief reason for adhering to custom, even when the individual may doubt the efficiency of some of the traditional rules is given as "fear of ill report" among his fellows. (16. 1: 168; 25: 569.) The Eskimo are said to be very sensitive to the opinions of others. According to Nansen:

"It now and then happens that some one or other wounded, perhaps, by a single word from one of his kinsfolk, runs away to the mountains, and is lost for several days." (43: 267; cf. 16. 1: 157; 45: 300.)

A remarkable and effective method of putting offenders to shame is the "drum-dance" or singing combat, described by many writers on Greenland. (19: 85; 52: 24; 53: 53; 51: 141, 150; 30: 87, 157; 16. 1: 164; 43: 186.)

"The so-called nith-songs were used for settling all sorts of crimes or breaches of public order or custom, with the exception of those which could only be expiated by death." (Rink, 52: 24.)

These contests took place at "the public meetings or parties, which at the same time supplied the national sports and entertainments." (52: 24.)

The procedure was briefly as follows: If a person (women as well as men could carry on the contest) felt himself aggrieved by another, he challenged the offender to meet him at a certain time and place to hold a singing combat. Each of the parties then prepared satirical songs about his opponent. At the appointed time, before the assembled people, the contestants, by turns, attacked each other by these satires, until one or the other had exhausted his resources. In the words of Rink, "the cheering or dissent of the assembly at once represented the judgment as well as the punishment." (53: 34.) It appears that, in East Greenland at least, the issue is not always decided by one performance, but the contest is repeated, so that it can stretch over many years. (30: 7, 157.)

On the value of this judicial system, it is interesting to note the verdict of the Moravian Crantz (16. 1: 161.):

"It is an excellent opportunity of putting immorality to the blush, and cherishing virtuous principles. Nothing so effectually restrains a Greenlander from vice as the dread of public disgrace, and this pleasant way of revenge even prevents many from wreaking their malice in acts of violence or bloodshed. Here they cite each other to appear without risking their lives in the duel, or wounding each other with envenomed pen."

In an East Greenland tale (31: 257), the parties in a blood-revenge agree not to kill each other, but settle the matter with a drum-dance.

While, in the contest, they are at liberty to lampoon each other to their hearts' content, as soon as the performance is over they

must not let it appear that there has been any trouble between them. Also, before and during the contests, no bitter feeling must be manifested. It happens that one plays the part of host to his opponent. (30:87.) An appearance of perfect calm should be maintained by the one under fire. One "made his indifference known by calling on the spectators to shout and amuse themselves over him." (53:332.)

The word "nith-song" is of Norse derivation. Tylor was of the opinion that the institution itself had been introduced into Greenland by the Norwegian colonists. (See 67:353.) Its native origin is now generally accepted. (For similar customs among the western Eskimo, see 52:30; 45:347. Consult also Chamberlain, 28. 2:77; for examples of nith-songs see 11:287; 63:305; 31:330.)

A drastic measure for maintaining order and punishing delinquency, and one very rarely employed, is *expulsion*. Typical is the case of a young man who was turned out of the house in the middle of winter. (52:26.) Rink says, "As to the possibility of maintaining the authority of law, it must be remembered that the members in these isolated communities are more immediately dependent on their fellowmen than the members of a civilized society, and that what is considered at the most a trifling inconvenience in the latter, may be a severe punishment in the former" (52:24), and we must agree with him that few punishments could be more severe than "being suddenly abandoned without shelter in the depths of an Arctic winter;" between this and "the disagreeableness of being shamed by a song in an assembly, several degrees of punishment may be imagined sufficient to deter malicious individuals from ordinary offences or disturbances of order and peace." (52:26.)

Crimes involving *punishment by death*, of which practically the only ones are murder and witchcraft (which latter, according to Eskimo belief, may cause death) are dealt with in one of two ways; usually by blood-revenge on the part of the kindred of the victim, or, in a few cases, by the concerted action of the whole community.

Blood-revenge is considered a duty, as well as a right, among all Eskimo. It is one phase of their conception of justice. What Kropotkin says of the Dayak "head-hunter" may be said also of the Eskimo.

"The avenger is not actuated by personal passion. . . . He acts under what he considers as a moral obligation, just as the European judge who, in obedience to the same principle of 'blood for blood,' hands over the condemned murderer to the hangman." (38: 109.)

There is a belief that the soul of the murdered person does not get rest till he is avenged. (66: 186.)

The proper agent of revenge is the nearest male relative of the victim, although other relatives and even place-fellow may join. (5: 582; 53: 35, 287, 446; 19: 69; 50: 61; 45: 292.) The primary object of the revenge is the death of the murderer himself. It is said to be usual for the avenger to explain to the murderer the reason for his taking-off. (16: 1: 177.) But, especially if the slayer cannot be apprehended, some of his relatives are also liable to be put to death. There appears to be a definite idea of *personal* responsibility, although with that goes communal liability also. Rink classes revenge carried out on some kindred or place-fellow as "neither decidedly admissible nor altogether unlawful." (53: 35.) If a murdered man leaves an infant son, the latter is obliged to avenge his father's death as soon as he arrives at puberty. (45: 292.) This is a frequent theme in folk-lore. (e. g., 53: 368, 450.) The boy's training has this as its chief end. "Now thou hast seen thy father killed, it will not do for thee to grow up in idleness," is a grandfather's admonition. (53: 355.) At the conclusion of a tale of this type, Rink gives us what he calls the "very characteristic remark" of the native narrator:

"It is generally supposed that if his foster-father had not continually excited him [to revenge the murder of his parents], he would scarcely have grown to be so immensely strong." (53: 207.)

Boas tells us of a strange method of executing the blood-revenge among the central Eskimo.

"Strange as it may seem, a murderer will come to visit the relatives of his victim (though he knows that they are allowed to kill him in revenge) and will settle with them. He is kindly welcomed and sometimes lives quietly for weeks and months. Then he is suddenly challenged to a wrestling match, and if defeated, is killed, or if victorious he may kill one of the opposite party, or when hunting he is suddenly attacked by his companions and slain." (5: 582; cf. 53: 340.)

Often the blood-feud consists of a long series of retaliations, the first revenge calling forth another, and so on. It may even

be handed down to successive generations. (5:582; 16. 1:178; 45:293; 50:62.) Rink is of the opinion that continued blood-revenge is less decidedly admissible than the first retaliation. (53:35.) Such a feud may be concluded by mutual agreement. (5:582; 34:70.)

In a Greenland tale, a man planning revenge was advised by an old bachelor, "Thou hadst better give it up and leave thy father alone. He was only paid back according to his deserts, being himself a man-slayer." And the son replied, "Let it be as thou proposest; perhaps I shall only get new foes if I carry out my thoughts of vengeance," and so the parties were reconciled. (53:340.)

Capital punishment, as the result of deliberation by the community, was inflicted on witches, and persons regarded as dangerous to public welfare. (53:35; 6:117.) According to Nansen, "in cases of extreme atrocity, the men of the village have been known to make common cause against a murderer, and kill him." (43:163.) A very interesting procedure is described by Boas,

"If a man has committed a murder or made himself odious by other outrages he may be killed by anyone simply as a matter of justice. The man who intends to take revenge on him must ask his countrymen singly if each agrees in the opinion that the offender is a bad man deserving death. If all answer in the affirmative he may kill the man thus condemned and no one is allowed to revenge the murder." (5:582.)

As stated before, the Eskimo believe that people may be killed by witchcraft, so that witches would be only a special class of homicides. (16. 1:177; 19:113; 6:117.) A missionary was explaining how God punishes wicked people, when an Eskimo remarked that "in that respect he was like God, for he had killed three women who were witches." (43:170.)

9. SOCIABILITY AND POLITENESS

"If we take the term *savage* to imply a brutal, unsocial, and cruel disposition, the Greenlanders are not entitled to the appellation. They are not untractable, wild, or barbarous; but a mild, quiet, and good-natured people." These words of Crantz (16. 1:169-70) are borne out by the unanimous testimony of all students of the Eskimo. Their experience has been comparable to that of Cartwright, who, on leaving for Labrador, noted that the Eskimo "have always been accounted the most savage people upon the whole continent of America." (12:13.) At the end of his sixteen years' sojourn among them he wrote in his journal, "They are the best tempered people I ever met with, and the most docile."

As an example of their disposition we may cite their behavior in the communal houses, such as those of East Greenland. In one such house, Holm found thirty-eight persons, of eight different families. This room, be it remembered, was the only refuge of all these people during the lone darkness of the Arctic winter, here they did their sleeping, cooking, eating, working, dancing and merrymaking.

"And yet," we are assured, "no quarrel disturbs the peace, there is no dispute about the use of the narrow space. Scolding or even unkind words are considered a misdemeanor when not produced under the legal form of process, viz., the nith-song." (52: 26; 30: 74; 20: 150.)

Crantz declares

"There is less noise and confusion in a Greenland house inhabited by ten couples with numerous children of different ages, than in a single European one, where only two relations reside with their families." (16. 1: 156.)

Nansen writes,

"The Greenlander is of all God's creatures gifted with the best disposition. Good humor, peaceableness, and evenness of temper are the most prominent features in his character. He is eager to stand on as good a footing as possible with his fellow-men, and therefore refrains from offending them and much more from using coarse terms of abuse. He is very loth to contradict another even should he be saying what he knows to be false; if he does so, he takes care to word his remonstrance in the mildest possible form, and it would be very hard indeed for him to say right out that the other was lying. He is chary of telling other people truths which he thinks will be unpleasant to them; in such cases he chooses the vaguest expressions, even with reference to such indifferent things as, for example, wind and weather. His peaceableness even goes so far that when anything is stolen from him, which seldom happens, he does not as a rule reclaim it even if he knows who has taken it." (43: 101; cf. 30: 182; 4: 372, 385; 21: 385; 66: 180.)

So, too, Crantz says that "they are patient of injuries, and will concede their manifest rights rather than engage in dispute." (16. 1: 126.) "No one interrupts another in the course of a conversation, nor do they willingly contradict each other, much less give way to clamorous brawling." (16. 1: 157.)

Of the Eskimo at Point Barrow, Murdoch states:

"They are generally peaceable. We did not witness a single quarrel among the men during the two years of our stay." He had reports of fights, due to white men's liquor. "Many of them show a grace of manner and natural delicacy and politeness which is quite surprising. I

have known a young Eskimo so polite that in conversing with Lieut. Ray he would take pains to mispronounce his words in the same way as the latter did, so as not to hurt his feelings by correcting him bluntly." (42: 41 sqq.)

It is said that the Eskimo language does not contain a single epithet of reproach or abuse. (16. 1: 158, 170; 19: 69.) On this point, Hutton writes:

"However aggravating the seals may be, an Eskimo does not lose his temper over his hunting; and as for swearing—why, the Eskimo language contains no oaths, and the few mild remarks that an Eskimo can make in his own language as 'Kappianarmêk' (how dreadful) or 'ai-ai-kulluk' (that miserable thing), he makes where they can be applied literally. Useless expletives are as foreign to his nature as to his vocabulary." (33: 247.)

Some of their customs are indicative of their civility. Thus they never enter another's house without being invited. When they come in they do not sit down till the host assigns them a seat. (19: 70.) The guests do not enter the house until the host has gone in first. (30: 173.) When a stranger comes to a house, he must never ask for food, no matter how hungry he may be. Nor is this necessary, on account of the universal hospitality. When food is set before the visitor, he does not begin to eat immediately, lest he be thought gluttonous. All the people of the house must retire before the guest takes to his sleeping-place. "It is regarded ill for the guest to retire before the host." (19: 70.) Also it is not polite to depart while the host is awake. "When the host began to snore, the guests crept quietly away," says Rasmussen (50: 42.)

A common form of salutation is rubbing of noses, a custom which is falling into disuse (42: 422; 2. 1: 67); also embracing and caressing (1. 1: 116, 122, 160). Salutations of welcome are not known in East Greenland, but farewell greetings are common, such as "Be careful on the journey," or "May you sail in open water." (30: 173.)

We have already referred to the Eskimo's patience under injury. Now the cause of this is not insensitivity to the opinions of others, for as we have pointed out, the Eskimo seems to be very sensitive. But any expression of wounded feelings, outside the drum-dance, is inhibited in the interests of public peace and concord. Crantz' statement that "When a Greenlander considers himself injured by a neighbor, he retires without reprisals into

another part of the house" (16. 1:156), is significant as showing their manner both of suppressing their own feelings and of preventing trouble. Rink strikingly sums up the matter when he says, "The general mode of uttering annoyance at an offence is by silence." (Cf. 1. 1:62.)

Hans Egede tells us that when they saw the sailors quarrel and fight they regarded their conduct as inhuman. "They do not consider each other as human beings," they said. When an officer struck one of his subordinates they said, "He treats his fellow-men as dogs." (19:69.) A Cumberland Sound tale gives an example of how they regard ill-humored and quarrelsome people. (6:285.)

Their disinclination to dispute an argument leads to an appearance of great credulity, even when they themselves have their doubts. Paul Egede relates an incident when, "from courtesy, everybody believed all I said. Then women requested needles from me for their willingness to believe." (20:123; cf. 19:126.) When a missionary expressed skepticism about their assertion that they had killed a bear which was so big that the ice on its back never melted, they said, "We have believed what you tell us, but you will not believe what we tell you." (43:310.)

10. SENSE OF JUSTICE AND MERCY

We find evidence not only of forbearance with injuries but actual forgiveness, even in cases where severe punishment would be justifiable. Hall tells us of an old man who confessed the wrong he had done another years ago (deserting him when starving). The latter avowed that he no longer retained any ill-feeling. "Then the two men sealed their renewed friendship with jests." (26:278.) Two Greenland tales strikingly illustrate the principle of returning good for evil.

In one a father had been tormented by suitors for his daughter, because he would not give her up. The family had to move away. But "intelligence reached them that the men who had once scorned and abused them were living in great want, and the old man determined to help them," which he did. "Ye said that ye would deny me your assistance if ever I came in want, now help yourself, if ye please, and eat as much as ever ye like." (53:185.) Another tells of a poor orphan boy, whom a wicked man scorned and scared. The boy, by magic, secured the man's harpoon and hunting bladder. He invited all the men to come to a

feast, the bad man among them. He had hung up the bladder-float along with the harpoon-line on the peg in the wall, and while the old man was prating of his chase and loss, he pointed to them, saying, "Look, there are all thy hunting tools, and thou canst take them away with thee when thou goest home." "The old man looked quite abased and left the party in a somewhat confused state." (53: 124-126.) A primitive David and Saul motive.

As showing their sense of both justice and mercy, some recorded conversations are instructive.

They asked Paul Egede, if the new religion was so essential, why God had not given them the instruction before, so that their fathers could have come to heaven (20:24). The missionary said that perhaps God had seen that they would not accept the Word, but rather despise it, and thereby become more guilty. One old man said he had known many excellent people; his own father had been a pious man.

They could not understand how the sin which Adam and Eve committed could be so great as to involve such dire consequences, as that all mankind should be condemned on account of it. "Since God knew all things, why did he permit the first man and woman to sin?" they asked. On the other hand, they were of the opinion that Adam and Eve were very foolish to chatter with a serpent and "they must have been very fond of fruit since they would rather die and suffer pain than forego a few big berries." But then it was just like the Kablunas; "these greedy people never have enough; they have, and they want to have, more than they require."

They inquired why God did not help the children of Israel to overcome their enemies, the Egyptians, and spare the Canaanites, who had done nothing against them. (20: 162.)

They also wanted to know if God can't do what he wants men to do, viz., forgive offenses, without such terrible punishments. (20: 17.) One said if the Son of God is such a terrible being as to put people in everlasting fire he did not want to go to heaven. (16. 2: 41.) Others thought the Son must be matchlessly good, but the Father have a hard and ferocious disposition. (20: 17.)

A girl told a missionary she could not believe that God was so cruel as he represented him to be; he had said that all her forefathers were to be tormented to all eternity, because they did not know God. She defended them on the ground that they did not know any better and finally said "it was horrible for her to learn that God was so terribly angry with those who sinned that he could never forgive them, as even wicked men sometimes do." (20: 221.)

An angakok came to Paul Egede and said, "I have heard tell of a virgin in your land who had a son, who was a great angakok and could do wonderful things, cure all kinds of diseases, and even make the dead alive again, and that your forefathers have slain this great angakok, and that he later became living, and went to heaven. Had he come here to us, we should have loved him and been obedient to him. So crazy

people we haven't among us. What madmen to kill one who could bring the dead to life! Why did he not kill these bad people, and come over to us, we should have better appreciated him." (20: 20.)

An experience of some Eskimo in Copenhagen also shows their view of the justice of human affairs:

Nearly the whole city came to look at these strange people. When they saw the porter taking money to let people in, they thought it was they who should have the money who were being looked at. They ought also, they said, to have something for so often hearing that they were not handsome. In Denmark there must be a different custom than in their country. There the small girls call through the windows to the others, "You are pretty," and the answer from within is, "Come in." Then the girls outside give a present. But here it is always, "You are ugly," and to get in to see us, they give the porter money, which we ought to have for our ugliness, since it is so strange among you to see ugly people. (20: 39.)

The following incident shows their fine sense of sympathy:

Several of the Eskimo Cartwright brought to England died on the voyage, much to his sorrow as well as that of their relatives and friends in Labrador. But the latter, so he tells us, "no sooner observed my emotion, than, mistaking it for the apprehension which I was under for fear of their resentment, they instantly seemed to forget their own feelings, to relieve those of mine. They pressed round me, clasped my hands, and said and did all in their power to convince me that they did not entertain any suspicion of my conduct toward their departed friends." (12: 139.)

Their fellow-feeling even with the brute creation is shown in their words at seeing a man on horseback. They expressed "great compassion for the poor beast, whose unfortunate lot it was to carry so great a weight at such a rate." (12: 128.)

11. HOMICIDE AND WAR

From the peaceable nature of the Eskimo, we would expect to find homicide of infrequent occurrence, and the evidence bears out this supposition. Nansen says, "Murder is very rare. They hold it atrocious to kill a fellow-creature." (43: 162.) Important is the testimony of Hans Hendrik, the Christian Eskimo from the Moravian mission, who found to his surprise and relief, when among non-Christian tribes, that "notwithstanding their being unbaptized, they abhor manslaughter." (27: 42.)

A dissenting opinion is expressed by Holm; of the East Greenlanders he says that "murder is frequent when one takes into

account the sparseness of the population." (30:87.) It does not appear that he is here speaking as an eye-witness. And, in another place, in relating several accounts of murders, given him by the natives, he says that the stories are possibly only legends, embodying the accumulated and exaggerated events of hundreds of years. He also states that frequently they accuse each other in their nith-songs of attempts at murder, with no basis in fact. These considerations tend to throw doubt upon the accuracy of his first statement.

But, of course, it would be running in the teeth of facts to assert that murders never take place. As Rink says, "the passions of the people tending to ambition, domineering, or the mere fancy for making themselves feared, sometimes gave rise to violence and murder." (53:34.) In another connection we discuss the punishments for murder. The place it occupies in their criminal law is shown from the fact that it is practically the only offense punishable by death. Nelson tells us that "a man who has killed another can be recognized by the restless expression of his eye." (45:293.)

Folk-lore abounds in stories of homicide and its revenge. But this is no index to a corresponding frequency in real life. As Matthews well says,

"It is nothing to us that a horrid crime (as we regard it) is described in a tale, for the story-tellers of all ages and of all races have delighted to thrill their hearers with such tales, and, as civilization advances, this delight seems to increase rather than to diminish." (41: 2.)

We may here say a few words about war and the Eskimo. There is scanty support among this people for the thesis, "War is the normal condition of savagery." (Mooney, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 751.) Paul Egede, long ago, wrote that "the Greenlanders do not know of war, and therefore have no word for it." (20:138.) According to Nansen,

"War is in their eyes incomprehensible and repulsive; . . . soldiers and officers, brought up in the trade of killing, they regard as mere butchers." (43: 162.)

An instructive incident is told by Amundsen:

An Eskimo, who had agreed to go with the expedition, suddenly became melancholy, and sobbing bitterly said he did not want to go to the land of the white men, as they might kill him. Assurances were of no avail, "he would not be convinced, and pointed to some pictures of the Boer War." (1. 2: 92.)

We find in this respect, as in so many others, the western Eskimo an exception. They have engaged in wars between the tribes as well as with the Indians. (45:327; 32:130; 34:150; 21:388.) Sometimes a certain number of men were chosen on either side to fight it out as representatives of the tribe, the rest of the tribe remaining at peace. (34:227.)

As Rink points out, among the western Eskimo, "in connection with warfare among the tribes it has even led to the keeping of slaves, of all habits the one apparently most at variance with Eskimo social life." (52:28; cf. 32:78.) The evidence from the Eskimo supports Westermarck's position that "the earliest source of slavery was war or conquest." (71. 1:674.)

It might be supposed that the Eskimo's aversion to strife would be coupled with a lack of courage. But facts show that such is not the case. In the western tribes, who engage in war with each other and the Indians, martial courage is not wanting. But even to that great majority who live in peace with all men, no one would deny the possession of courage, who knows the bravery of the undaunted hunters of land and sea. (See 42:42; 5:574.) As Crantz says of the kayaker, "He dreads no storm; as long as a ship can carry its topsails, he braves the mountainous billows." (16. 1:139.) The Eskimo in his kayak is not only "an object of wonder and delight," as Crantz calls him, for his marvellous skill, but also one of the sublimest examples of human daring and self-reliance, of personal courage vastly greater than that required to keep step with an army to the field of battle. Alone he courts the dangers of the icy deep and challenges and conquers, single-handed, the dread powers of nature.

12. TRUTHFULNESS AND GOOD FAITH

Says Nansen:

"One of the most prominent and attractive traits in the Eskimo is certainly his integrity. If some Europeans have denied him this virtue, it can only be I am sure, because these gentlemen have not taken the trouble to place themselves in sympathy with his modes of thought, and to realize what he regards as dishonorable. It is of special importance for the Eskimo that he should be able to rely with confidence upon his neighbors and his fellow-men; it is the first condition of this mutual confidence, on which depends all united action in the battle of life, that every man shall be upright in his dealings with his neighbors." (43:157 sq.)

He quotes Dalager to the effect that they "shrink from relating anything which they are unable to substantiate." (43:126.) The last-named authority gives the women a less clean record in this regard than the men, a view which is also held by Crantz. (16. 1:175.)

Murdoch found the Eskimo "generally truthful, though a detected lie is hardly considered more than a good joke." (42:41.) The context seems to indicate this last clause refers particularly to their relation with foreigners. It may be noted that Amundsen and Stefánsson, who both had opportunity to observe many different tribes, agree that natives who have not been in contact with white men are more truthful and honorable in every respect. (58:200.)

It is undeniably true that some Eskimo resort to deception, in their relations with foreigners particularly in trading-transactions. Holm found it one of their practices to offer the poorest things first. (30:168.) Some natives tried to sell Beechey's party fish skins "ingeniously put together, so as to represent a whole fish, although totally deprived of their interior substance." (4:391.) Similar tricks were tried on the Point Barrow expedition. "They brought over the carcass of a dog, with the skin, head, feet, and tail removed, and tried to sell it for a young reindeer," and again when the party were buying seal oil from the Eskimo, "one woman brought over a tin can nearly filled with ice, with merely a layer of oil on top." Also clothing and other articles made for sale to the visitors were carelessly made, compared with the care they put on their own things. (42:41.) It is only fair and perhaps significant to compare with these reports the experience of Dalager, one of the first Danish merchants in Greenland:

"In describing a thing to another person, they are very careful not to paint it in brighter colors than it deserves; especially in the sale of an object which the buyer has not seen, even though the seller may be anxious to get rid of it, he will depreciate it rather than overpraise it." (Quoted 43: 158.)

Turner testifies to their respect for probity in others:

"They form a permanent attachment for the white man who deals honestly and truthfully with them, but if he attempts any deception or trickery, they are certain to be ever suspicious of him, and it is difficult to regain their favor." (66: 180.)

How untruthfulness is regarded as a disgrace is strikingly shown in an incident related by Cartwright. After the Eskimo he brought to London had seen St. Paul's, he asked them how they would describe the cathedral to their countrymen in Labrador; to which they replied that they would mention neither it, nor many other things that they had seen, lest they be called liars, from the seeming impossibility of such facts. (12:124; cf. 26:348.) There is truth as well as poetry in an Eskimo song, whose burden is, "We are accustomed to have trustworthiness." (63:309.) Tales like "The woman who told a lie," show the Eskimo attitude reflected in folk-lore. (50:60.)

Especially do the Eskimo appear in a favorable light in their faithfulness to a promise or contract. Peary asserts, "An Eskimo never forgets a broken promise—nor a fulfilled one." I have not discovered a single charge against an Eskimo of breach of good faith, using this last term in the sense of "fidelity to promises, which should make facts correspond with our emphatic assertions as to our conduct in the future." (71. 2:72.)

Rink's statement that "nothing was sold on credit, at least not without being paid for very soon" (53:29) is uncorroborated by other authorities. According to Crantz, "the purchaser can take a thing on credit if he has not the means of payment." And that considerable time is allowed for payment may be inferred from the fact that if the debtor dies before the debt is discharged,

"The creditor must not afflict the disconsolate mourners by remembrance of the deceased, but after some interval he may reclaim the article bartered, provided it is not lost in the scramble which usually succeeds the funeral. This lenient system goes so far that, if a person loses or breaks an article taken upon credit, he is not held to his agreement." (16: 1: 167; cf. Dalager, quoted 43: 111.)

The Eskimo of Bering Strait commonly demanded their pay in advance when asked to do anything for white men, and hesitated or even refused to give white men any article of value without being paid at the time. Nelson attributes this to a distrust of strangers; is this another instance of unpleasant memories? Amundsen tells us his credit among the Nechilli was "really flattering." "In the beginning the Eskimo were rather astonished at receiving a piece of paper instead of a knife or fifty cartridges, but when they understood the meaning of it my paper was always accepted as good as payment." Some were

presented a whole year later, when they were honored "to their great delight." (1. 2:64; cf. 3:299.) Among the very same Eskimo spoken of above as so distrustful of the whites, Nelson states that it was

"A constant practice to obtain credit at the trading stations to be paid for when they should have procured the necessary skins." And he adds that they were "very honest, paying all debts contracted in this way," in many cases when the trader would have had no means of obtaining his pay. He remarks that "a curious part of this custom was that very often the same Eskimo who would be perfectly honest and go to great trouble and exertion to settle a debt, would not hesitate to steal from the same trader." (45: 294.)

I find in this fact an illustration of their strict fidelity to a promise, as compared with a rather disrespectful attitude toward uncovenanted property. Cartwright relates a striking and significant incident; an Eskimo "absolutely refused to part with a bundle of whalebone, which he brought to pay a debt with; notwithstanding I assured him that the person to whom he owed it was not in this country, nor would ever return to it." (12:296.) Amundsen tells of a native mail-carrier, who although urged by his family to remain at home to take care of an injury,

"withstood all temptations, and continued on his route. . . . He was stimulated by a desire to prove that he was a man of his word. He was especially delighted at the praise I gave him for his integrity and sense of honor." (1. 2: 76; cf. 1.1: 196.)

Westermarck says that "the regard in which truth is held by the Eskimo seems to vary among different tribes." (71. 2:75.) There is no reason why such a statement may not be made of different individuals of the same tribe. Because a traveler happens to encounter an honest man in New York and a dishonest one in Chicago, it would hardly do to say that American *cities* differ in honesty. Indeed, we have evidence that quite opposite types of character may be found in one and the same Eskimo community. Even allowing full face value to all damaging evidence, after a careful consideration of all available data I think there is no reason why we may not say of the Eskimo what Matthews does of the Indians, that they are "not less truthful than the average of our race." Also it is well to bear in mind, what this same writer reminds us of, that "all people, in all times, have found it convenient to condone a certain

amount of falsehood. *The ethical boundaries of veracity have never been exactly defined.*" (41:5; italics mine.)

We may consider here briefly a phrase which is of special importance in connection with their religious and social life, namely the honesty of the magicians or angakoks in their relations with the people and with the spirit-world. Some, like Crantz, believe that "the coarse imposture of the whole process is palpably manifest;" "the great majority of the angakoks are doubtless mere jugglers;" although he admits that

"the class includes a few persons of real talent and penetration and perhaps a greater number of genuine phantasts, whose understanding has been subverted by some impression strongly working on their fervid imagination." (16. 1: 196.)

He tells us that "with regard to their own practices, they readily admit that their intercourse is merely pretense to deceive the simple." (16. 1:197.) Now this is a grave charge to bring against a class and a system, as central in Eskimo life as that of the angakoks. The affinity of this view with the priestcraft-theory of the origin of religions might suffice to show its untenability. But there is direct evidence from Eskimo life itself. Holm tells us of angakoks' freely expressing unbelief in their powers. (30:127.) But, he says in another place (30:135):

"It is not impossible that their confession of their own impotence as angakoks is only an expression of the extraordinary modesty, with which the Eskimo speak of themselves. . . . It is very possible that the angakoks in reality believe in their own relations with the spirit-world."

He notes the significant fact that while denying his own powers, an angakok always expresses faith in his fellow-magicians. (30:127, sqq.) Even more positive testimony of the same effect is given by Rasmussen. After relating his encounter with an angakok who was exclaiming, "all foolery, silly humbug! Nothing but lies!" he states:

"A magician always precedes his conjurations with a few depreciating words about himself and his powers, and the more highly esteemed he is, the more anxious he is to pretend that his words are lies." (50: 17 sq.)

Our conclusion, I think, must be that expressed by Rasmussen when he declares:

"The magicians themselves are undoubtedly self-deceived in the conduct of their incantations; I do not believe that they consciously lie. Otherwise, why should they, when they themselves fall ill, seek the help of the spirits?" (50: 156.)

13. GRATITUDE

After stating that, according to travelers' accounts, the feeling of gratitude is "lacking in many uncivilized races," Westermarek quotes the following from Lyon, concerning the Eskimo:

"Gratitude is not only rare, but absolutely unknown amongst them, either by action, word, or look, beyond the first outery of satisfaction." (71. 2: 155; cf. 16. 1: 174.)

A quite different, and I am sure more just, view is presented by Murdoch (this, it should be said, is also quoted by Westermarek, 71. 2: 162):

"Some seemed to feel truly grateful for the benefits and gifts received, and endeavored by their general behavior as well as in more substantial ways to make some adequate return. Others appeared to think only of what they might receive." (42: 42.)

This would do very well as a description of a high-class civilized community.

A favorite point for moralists with linguistic proclivities is to deny the existence of a word for this or that virtue, in the language of a primitive people. Among these "gratitude" is one often found missing. Now we hold, to use the language of Wundt:

"The phenomena of language do not admit of direct translation back again into ethical processes; the ideas themselves are different from their vehicles of expression, and here as everywhere the external mark is later than the internal act for which it stands." (72: 44.)

But it may be of interest to note that a word, given by Amundsen as "koyenna," meaning "thanks," which a missionary in Alaska claimed was of Christian origin was found in Greenland (spelled by Crantz "kujonak"), when the first modern missionaries arrived there.

Peary writes of his Eskimo acquaintance that "their feeling for me is a blending of gratitude and confidence" (48: 48) and "they are keenly appreciative of kindness." (48: 51.) Holm says that the sick, when helped by the Danish expedition, were very grateful and the patient's housemates "showered us with thanks and gifts." He adds that this may not have been so much from gratitude, as from the feeling the *angokoks* had instilled in them, that all aid must be paid for. The explanation is dubious. He himself gives other instances of thankfulness where no such interpretation is admissible. (30: 173.)

Amundsen expresses "great pleasure to see how happy they were with their gifts" (1. 2:78), and that they thought of other than what they could get is shown by their actions when the Norwegian expedition was ready to sail. Their Eskimo friends presented them with "no less than seventy fine salmon, weighing from six to eleven pounds each, one in fact weighed over seventeen pounds." (1. 2:94.) This represented toil and self-sacrifice, and was certainly not for the sake of future reward. (See also 1. 2:107; cf. 4:402.)

The importance attached to gratitude, as well as benevolence, by folk-lore is well illustrated in the tale of Kumagdlat. (53:115.) A story from real life which shows how deep-seated in human nature is the response of gratitude, is that of the orphan boy, narrated by Rasmussen. (50:51.) "A gift always opens the door of an Eskimo heart," remarks this author, "Thou gavest; see, I give too," is the key thought.

14. PARENT AND CHILD

The desire for offspring is one of the most dominant traits of the Eskimo and one having far-reaching consequence. As is noted in another section, it is a potent cause of divorce, polygamy, and wife-exchanging. "The chief end of marriage," says Nansen, "is undoubtedly the procreation of children." (43:150; cf. 56:176.) Childlessness exposes the husband to the derision of his fellows. "Having no children, he has no sense," says a nith-song. (63:295.) But even more unfortunate is the barren wife. Rasmussen declares, "There is only one woman whom I pity among the Polar Eskimo—the woman who has no children." (50:65.) He relates a pathetic story, which is only one of many of like nature from life and folk-lore (53:181, 441), describing the shame and suffering of the childless woman. The following by Nansen is worth noting in this connection:

"If a Greenlander's wife does not bear children, his marriage fails of its chief purpose. Their treatment of barren women seems to us wanton and immoral; but when we remember that the production of offspring is the great end and aim of their conduct, and reflect what an all-important matter it is to them, we may perhaps pass a somewhat milder judgment." (43:171-172; cf. 30:96.)

In this connection it might be noted that the Eskimo do not appear to be a fertile race. The number of children born to

one woman is, as a rule, small, and complete barrenness is not uncommon. (43:150; 30:96; 42:414; 55:189; 16. 1:149; 45:29.)

The chief practical consideration is to have children for support in old age. Therefore married couples who remain childless frequently adopt children. Sometimes there is an exchange of children; "somebody wanting a boy hands over a superfluous girl in exchange." (33:80.) The adopted children receive the same treatment and have the same rights as children born of the marriage. (42:419; 5:580; 53:221; see also 1. 1:311; 2:205; 16. 1:155; 30:88; 6:115.)

This intense desire for offspring is coupled with a strong affection for children. On this point all authorities are in complete agreement:

"The affection of parents for their children is extreme," (42: 417); "Love of offspring is of the deepest and purest character," (55: 191); "Parents have an indescribable love for their children," (30: 92); are representative statements from different parts of the Eskimo area. Boas says, "The parents are very fond of their children and treat them kindly. They are never beaten and rarely scolded." (5: 566.) Holm tells of a man of whom the only good thing that could be said was that he had a notable love for his children. (30: 96; see also 19: 81; 16. 1: 149, 174; 43: 153; 13: 127, 179.)

In the desire for, and, though to a lesser degree, in the care of, children preference is shown for boys. Nansen's statement, "When a man-child is born, the father is jubilant, and the mother beams with pride, while if it be a girl, they both weep, or are, at any rate, very ill content" (43:135), is undoubtedly often applicable, though it must admit of many exceptions. The preference for boys is shown by a belief that a boy may be changed to a girl after birth, as punishment for not observing the birth-taboos. (20:130.) According to Holm, the pregnant wife uses amulets to assure the child's being a boy. (30:90. For illustrations in folk-lore see 53:390, 456, 458.)

The reason for this attitude is not far to seek. The solution is suggested in Holm's statement, "As soon as the wife becomes pregnant, her husband regards her as the mother of *the future hunter*." (30:90; italics mine.) As Nansen puts it:

"The boy is regarded as the kayak-man and hunter of the future, the support of the family in the old age of the parents, in short as a direct addition to the working capital." (43: 135; cf. 1. 2: 205; 16. 1: 155.)

Yet there is undoubtedly much truth in these words of Murdoch:

“While a boy is desired, since he will be the support of his father when the latter grows too old to hunt, a girl is almost as highly prized, for not only will she help her mother with the cares of housekeeping when she grows up, but she is likely to obtain a good husband who may be induced to become a member of his father-in-law’s family.” (42: 419.)

The difference in the valuation put upon boys and girls is shown in the case of orphaned children. Of these Nansen says:

“If a boy’s parents die, his position is never a whit the worse, for all the neighbors are quite willing to receive him into their houses, and do all they can to make a man of him. With the girls it is different; if they lose their parents and have no relations, they can always, indeed, have plenty of food, but they have often to put up with the most miserable clothing.” (43: 135.)

Such neglect of orphan girls must, however, be far from universal, as shown in numerous stories in folk-lore. This same authority also adds:

“When they come to marriageable age, they stand on pretty much the same level as girls who have been more fortunately situated; for no such thing as a dowry is known, and their chances simply depend upon beauty and solidity, which shall secure them favor in the eyes of men.”

The position of the orphan boy in Eskimo folk-lore is an exceedingly interesting theme.

He is the hero par excellence; his struggles against difficulties and final triumphs form a favorite subject. In the tale, “The Little Angakoks from the North Land” (63: 281 sqq.) two orphans secured seals for the people, after all the old angakoks had failed. A frequent theme is that of an orphan boy, who has been neglected or tormented, becoming a strong man and taking fatal revenge on them often by the aid of supernatural powers. In one story, the hero killed all his persecutors, “only the poor people who had been kind to him he spared.” (53: 98.) In another he “slaughtered all but the little girl who had befriended him. She became his wife.” (55: 265.) The words of one orphan-hero is the keynote in most of these stories, “They had no mercy on me when I was weak, now that I am strong, I will have my revenge.”

Rink points out that this class of tales has “a moral tendency, bringing before us the idea of a superior power protecting the helpless, and avenging mercilessness and cruelty.” (53: 92; cf. 3: 272.) They are closely akin to the belief that

"There is a spirit who comes and frightens people to death when orphan babies scream. There is also a risk of the dead mother herself coming back. Once upon a time an orphan baby was allowed to scream, and no one tried to quiet it; then suddenly the dead mother appeared in the doorway and frightened all to death." (50: 137.)

The kindness which is undoubtedly often shown orphans is strikingly illustrated in several folk-tales.

One tells how the hunters, on their return from the chase, "always used to give to the orphans a plentiful repast, and had special stores of provisions set apart for orphan children against hard times." (53: 334.)

In another, an orphan boy offered some brothers to barter his little dog for a pair of boots. One of the brothers said, "Well, thou art a hearty little fellow for thy age," and gave him two pairs of boots without taking his dog. All the other brothers likewise loaded him with presents of various kinds. (53: 408 sqq.)

Notwithstanding "the most unbounded freedom," to use Holm's expression (30: 92), in which Eskimo children grow up, our evidence is, without exception, in favor of their excellent behavior. "The children were what we would call in Europe well brought up, though they got no bringing up at all," is Nordenskiöld's way of putting it. (47. 2: 236.) "One must admire how well-bred the little ones are," says Holm. (Cf. 19: 82; 42: 417.) After speaking of the absence of restraint and punishment, Nansen says:

"With such an upbringing, one might expect that the Greenland children would be naughty and intractable. This is not at all the case. When they are old enough to understand, a gentle hint from father or mother is enough to make them desist from anything forbidden. I have never seen Eskimo children quarreling, either indoors or in the open air; not even talking angrily to each other, much less fighting." (43: 154; cf. 45: 191.)

Children early begin to learn the activities which are to be their life-work, the boys as hunters, the girls as housekeepers. But "they still have plenty of leisure to play with other children until they are old enough to marry." (42: 417.) Indeed, they get their training largely through play. Among the boys' favorite playthings are toy harpoons and bird-darts. (43: 156.) Then one day "it dawns upon him that his childish play can be taken in earnest." (50: 117.) That day marks an epoch in the

Eskimo's life, and is a great event for all his family. Hall relates that the mother of a boy came to him, "her whole frame shaking with joy, while she told the news she had just heard, that her son had harpooned and killed a seal." (26:171.) This is the Eskimo mode of "initiation into manhood" (they have no so-called "puberty rites," at least not for boys.) Crantz thus describes the scene:

"Of the first seal which he catches, an entertainment is given to the neighbors and inmates of the family, during which the young adventurer relates how he accomplished his exploit. The guests express their surprise at his dexterity, and praise the flesh as peculiarly excellent. And the females afterwards begin to choose a wife for him." (1: 150.)

The dutiful attitude toward parents does not cease with childhood. Valuable on this point is the testimony of Crantz, as he will not be accused of exaggerating "heathen" virtues. "Ingratitude in grown-up children toward their old decepit parents is scarcely ever exemplified among them." (1:150.) Similarly Holm writes, "Grown-up children have great affection for their parents, and show them care and devotion" (cf. 48:46; 30:93), even in the case of an unworthy parent.

I am not sure but what Nansen's statement, "reverence for the aged is not a prominent feature of the Eskimo character" does some injustice to the people of whom this writer is such a staunch friend. We have already pointed out the place of the elders in the social order. The aged are the objects of marks of special honor. (See e.g., 42:359; 4:389.) Turner speaks of men who attain eighty years of age and have great-grand-children, and "these never fail to show respect for their ancestor." (66:190.) The old people of the community are in a way the link which connects the present generation with the revered ancestors, and with the latter they share in supreme degree the attributes of wisdom and trustworthiness. "Old women do not fling their words about without meaning, and we believe them. There are no lies with age." (50; cf. 5:605.) In a folk-tale a grandfather, "a wise man," admonishes his grandson "never to be uncivil towards old people, not even on being reproved by them." (53:414.)

That there are those who do not live up to this high standard in their behavior toward the aged, even their own parents, is very probable. It very likely happens that people too old

to take care of themselves are neglected or treated with slight consideration. (See 43:177; 20:101; 66:178; 30:181.)

A practice found among the Eskimo which at first sight outrages our moral sensibility is the *abandoning and killing of aged parents*. They are sometimes put to death by their own children; how can that be harmonized with that intense parental affection which we have described? The same treatment may be dealt out to the sick and insane. As all these cases have the same causes, we will treat of them together.

The fundamental explanation for these acts must be sought, not in any "corruption of the heart" of the Eskimo nor their heathenism, but in the grim necessities of the struggle for existence. It is the demand for the sacrifice of the individual life that the group may survive. The scarcity of the food supply or the hardship of the march may require that those who only consume or who retard the progress be abandoned or dispatched. This is well illustrated in an account by Boas:

"When a traveling party runs short of provisions, they sometimes leave a woman or an old person, who may hinder their progress in a small snow hut, in which such a person is walled up. In case the party succeed in reaching their destination and replenishing their stock of provisions, they return for the deserted one." (6: 117.)

Sometimes the aged and sick themselves ask to be killed. A young man told Hall, "with tears in his eyes" that "it had been his duty" to put his parents to death "as it was at their request." (26:277.) An incident, which Nansen uses as an illustration of the fact that "the conceptions of good and evil in this world are exceedingly divergent" (43:170) is as follows: A missionary spoke to a girl of the love of God and neighbor, when she said to him:

"I have given proof of love for my neighbor. Once an old woman, who was ill, but could not die, offered to pay me if I would lead her to the top of the steep cliff from which our people have always thrown themselves when they are tired of living; but I, having always loved my neighbors, led her thither without payment, and cast her over the cliff." (See also 43: 163; 42: 331; 17: 385; 6: 499.)

Infanticide is practised under similar conditions from like motives. They often kill children who are deformed or those so feeble that they are not likely to live, and those whose mothers die in childbirth and have no one to nurse them. (43:151;

20:107; 30:91.) A motherless infant, says Crantz, is "buried alive by the desperate father, when he can no longer endure the sight of its misery," And he adds, "The heartrending anguish of this task must be left to the imagination to conceive." (1. 61:218.) Paul Egede tells of a deeply grieved widower who had thrown his new-born child from a high cliff, with closed eyes, so as not to see its end. He explained that its mother was dead, there was no one to nurse it. It had to die slowly, but now it died quickly, he sighed. (20:107. See also 6:117; 5:580; 48:66; 45:289; 53:35.)

But fortunately extremities which necessitate such actions are comparatively rare. Murdoch writes, "We never heard of a single case of infanticide." (42:416.) According to Waldmann, not even feeble or premature children were exposed, by the Labrador natives among whom he lived. (69:431.) Patient efforts are used to preserve the life of the child when possible. Folk-lore tells of a woman who miscarried and the child "was swaddled in the skin of the eider-duck, and had to be fostered with the utmost care to keep it alive." It became "one of the most powerful of men." (53:453.) Amundsen relates a case, where parents had drawn their son, lame from childhood, along on a seal-skin, for many years. The explorer's gift of a sledge was a welcome aid. (1. 2:79.)

Examples could be multiplied showing the devotion of parents to their children in the face of death. Dalager says, "What chiefly cuts their hearts is to see their children starving. They give food to their children even if they themselves are ready to die of hunger." (Quoted 43:103.) Parental love and grief of an Eskimo affected Paul Egede more perhaps than the strict logic of his theology would permit, when a man came to him and asked if his dead son was in heaven. Egede notes in his journal (remember father and son were both heathen): "I could not but answer him that the good God, who is the Father of all, prepares a fitting place for His children." This comforted the stricken man, but he remarked, "Still it is hard to lose mine, and not see them again in this world." (20:96.) The value attached to the preservation of a child is illustrated by two folk-tales.

In one, a man having slain a murderer, was asked by the latter's wife, "Are you going to kill me too?" To which the avenger replied, "No! Pualuna [the youngest son] is not big enough to do without you." (50:

132.) In another a second wife killed the first, of whom the husband had not informed her. She took the slain woman's child. The man "was not angry with her on account of the murder because she had let the boy live." (53: 276.)

Finally we may refer to an account by Klutschak.

The expedition of which he was a member (Schwatka's) had secured an Eskimo and his wife to accompany them. The couple had a girl five or six years' old, who, according to common usage, was "betrothed" to an adult. The latter demanded the child as a hostage, lest they would not return. "It was a painful situation for Nalijau and his wife. On the one hand was a better, care-free, easier life without their beloved child—on the other, the most wretched conditions with their child." But after a long struggle, the father came and announced that they had decided to remain. "The love of the parents for their child had won in the struggle with the prospect of a better life." And the author adds that this decision met with the general approval of the other Eskimo. (34: 169.)

I think facts like these throw more light, than would a long discussion, on the psychology and ethics of infanticide among the Eskimo. (See also 9: 192; 66: 192; 42: 415.)

Feticide would be very difficult for an observer to discover. From the desire of the Eskimo for children we would suppose it to be very rare. Of a case described by Holm, that author says that it was "a great offense" to the other Eskimo.

15. CANNIBALISM

Deniker enumerates as causes of anthropophagy, or cannibalism, necessity, gluttony, and superstition. (17a: 147.) Of the second of these, no instance has been found among the Eskimo. The third is given as a reason in only two reported cases. In Greenland, according to Rink, "a slain man is said to have the power to avenge himself by 'rushing into him,' which can only be prevented by eating a piece of his liver." (53: 45.) At Bering Strait, Nelson informs us,

"when young men fought in their first battle each was given to drink some of the blood, and made to eat a small piece of the first enemy killed by them, in order to render them brave." (45: 328.)

But there are many cases recorded of the eating of human flesh under the pressure of imminent starvation—*necessity*—that force which we saw to be cause of the killing of children, sick and aged. (6: 144, 258, 278, 489, 494; 1. 1: 278, 281; 30: 162.) Generally it is only bodies already dead from disease

or famine which are thus appropriated. Sometimes, however, people are killed, to preserve the existence of the group, by replenishing the food supply. (6:574; 50:33.) Such actions, even the consuming of the dead, are resorted to only after every other means has proved futile; Turner says "after eating their dogs and the clothing and other articles made of skins." (55:187.)

Boas says "all these occurrences are spoken of with the utmost horror." (5:574.) The effect upon the mind of such an experience is well illustrated in an incident given by Amundsen (1. 1:278; 281):

A man had died while on a fishing expedition. His wife and sons, who were with him, being unable to procure any other food, were forced, in order to save their lives, to partake of the dead man's body. "This dreadful tragedy seemed to cast a cloak of melancholy over old Navija. She was naturally very bright and gay, but at times had fits of the deepest melancholy, during which she tenaciously clung to her boy."

In East Greenland, those who have been forced to eat human flesh refrain from ever speaking of it. (30:165.) On the west coast of Hudson Bay, cannibalism should not be mentioned in the hearing of women. (6:503.) The Eskimo attitude is well manifested in the custom that

"a person who during a famine has eaten human flesh, should never afterwards eat bear meat, because it is believed that bear meat resembles that of man, and that to eat it will keep alive the desire for human flesh." (6:149, 489.)

This acquisition of a "taste" is referred to in an East Greenland tale. (31:323.)

Cannibalism is frequently dealt with in folk-lore, but always to emphasize the abhorrence of the narrators for the act. Any interpretation of these tales as traditions of an earlier general cannibalism is out of the question.

16. PROPERTY AND TRADE

Nansen says that the Eskimo,

"like all nations of hunters, have a very restricted sense of property; but it is mistake to suppose it entirely non-existing. As regards the great majority of things, a certain communism prevails; but this is always limited to wider or narrower circles according to the nature of the thing in question."

In these words he well sums up the main features of the economic system of the Eskimo. (43:108; cf. 53:9; 52:23.) We have already discussed the various subdivisions of Eskimo society. These are well worth bearing in mind in considering the matter of property, as we find a perfect correlation between the ownership of property and the individuals or groups who make use of the things in question. Among the Eskimo there is a complete application of principle, which is the central idea of modern socialism, what is individually used should be individually owned, what is collectively used should be collectively owned.

Strictly personal property is practically limited to the things which the individual, man or woman, employs in his or her particular work. According to Nansen, it is

“most fully recognized in the kayak, the kayak-dress, and the hunting weapons, which belong to the hunter alone, and which no one must touch. With them he supports himself and his family, and he must therefore always be sure of finding them where he last laid them; it is seldom that they are even lent to others.”

The woman likewise owns the necessary household articles, besides her clothing and ornaments. (43:108; cf. 42:328.)

The possession by an individual of more than a certain amount of this kind of property is jealously restricted by public opinion. These specifically personal articles were, to quote Rink, “even regarded as having a kind of supernatural relation to the owner, reminding us of that between the body and the soul.” But if a man owned more suits than usual, “public opinion would compel him to allow others to make use of them.” (53:30.) A few hunters have two kayaks; but if one happens to have three, “he would be obliged to lend one of them to some relative or housemate, and sooner or later he would lose it.” The Eskimo attitude is strikingly shown in the rule that a borrowed article, if lost or damaged, need not be compensated to the owner, since the very fact that he could afford to lend it, proved he did not need; hence it is “not held with the same right of possession as his more necessary belongings, but ranked among those goods which were possessed in common with others.” (53:29, 30; cf. 45:294.) Another interesting view is given us by Boas;

“A person who has unwittingly damaged the property of another regrets that he has been the cause of loss, particularly if the owner

should comfort him by minimizing the importance of the accident. If, on the other hand, if the owner should express his annoyance, the offender will take comfort, because it is sufficient for one person to feel annoyed." (6: 116.)

Among the Alaskan Eskimo, the idea of individual ownership appears to be more strongly developed than elsewhere. Murdoch believes that

"there is no limit to the amount of property which an individual, at least the head of a family, may accumulate. This has given rise to a regular wealthy or aristocratic class, who, however, are not yet sufficiently differentiated from the poorer people, to refuse to associate with them on any terms but those of social equality."

Leadership in trading with whites is one cause of the rise of this class. (42:429.) But even in this region the ancient order cannot be abrogated with facility or impunity. Nelson writes of this as follows:

"The Eskimo are very jealous of anyone who accumulates much property and in order to retain the public good will, are forced to be open-handed with the community. . . . Whenever a successful trader accumulates property and food, and is known to work solely for his own welfare, and is careless of his fellow villagers, he becomes the object of envy and hatred which ends in one of two ways. The villagers may compel him to make a feast and distribute his goods, or they may kill him and divide his property among themselves." (45: 305.)

The next class of property is that which belongs to the whole family. Rink enumerates under this head the family-boat and tent, provisions collected during the summer, and stores of skin and other articles for family use or for barter.

The third class is the property belonging to the house-mates, including the large house and the supply of meat for certain common meals. A fourth class comprises the things shared by all the place-fellows, such as the flesh and blubber derived from the seals caught during the stay in winter-quarters. And a fifth and last class, consisting of the food-supplies which, either on account of the size of the animal, or owing to scarcity and famine, were shared by the inhabitants of neighboring settlements. (53:30.)

The Eskimo do not, as a rule have any definite idea of property in land, yet priority of occupation carries with it certain privileges. Thus it is a recognized rule that "no one shall pitch a tent or build a house where people are already settled

without obtaining their consent." (43: 109; cf. 16. 1: 166; 30.)
But,

"beyond the confines of such places as are already inhabited, every one was at liberty to put up his house and go hunting and fishing whenever he chose." (53: 27.)

Nansen says that perhaps the rudiments of the idea of private property in land is found in what he believes to be a fact, that "where dams have been built in a salmon river to gather the fish together, it is not regarded as the right thing if strangers come and interfere with the dams or fish with nets in the dammed-up waters." (43: 110.)

He says that this is also mentioned by Dalager. The contrary is given by Rink,

"not even where others had first established a fishing place, by making weirs across a river, would any objections be made to other parties using these or even injuring them." (53: 27; for a similar rule about fox-traps see 16. 1: 167; 53: 29.)

This is in substantial agreement with Crantz, who concludes;

"Should a stranger disturb the prior occupant, he [the latter] will rather go away and starve than engage in a quarrel." (16. 1: 167.)

Nelson's observations indicate that in Alaska the idea of private property in natural resources is pretty well developed, one of the many respects in which the culture of that region differs from that of the other parts of the Eskimo area. The right to use certain places for setting seal and salmon nets

"is regarded as personal property, and it is handed down from father to son. If anyone else puts a net in one of these places the original owner is permitted to take it out and put down his own. These nets are sometimes rented or given out on shares, when the man who allows another to use his place is entitled to half the catch." (45: 307.)

There do not seem to be any definite boundaries between the hunting grounds of various tribes. According to Amundsen, it very frequently happens that two tribes meet while out hunting. "Such an encounter far from leading to strife and bloodshed, is the signal for a round of festivities." (1. 2: 45.)

The Eskimo have a great many rules governing the disposition of the booty of the chase. (6: 116, 210; 5: 582; 42: 275, 427; 16. 1: 167; 53: 27, 29, 136; 30: 76; 69: 433; 33: 223; 43: 113.) Among these are the following, the particular one applying in a given case depending upon particular circumstances, including the kind of animal involved; they also differ in detail in various

localities. The right to the animal belongs either to the one who first sees it, or the one who first wounds it (no matter who fires the fatal shot), or, if several shoot at once, the one who comes nearest a vital spot. Referring to this last rule, Crantz remarks that since the introduction of muskets, many disputes arise which are not easily settled since no one knows his own bullet. (16. 1:67.) A case of what a jurist would call "conflict of laws" is given in a Cumberland Sound tale.

All the people shot arrows at a caribou and killed it. One shouted, "I hit it first;" another, "It was my arrow that killed it." Finally one of the party grew so angry that he took the caribou by the hind legs and dashed it to pieces on the rocks. "Then nobody dared to claim it." (6: 284.)

How detailed the principles of division sometimes are is shown by a rule from the west coast of Hudson Bay:

"The hunter who first strikes a walrus receives the tusks and one of the forequarters. The person who comes to his assistance receives the other forequarter; the next man, the neck and head; the following the belly, and each of the next two, one of the hindquarters." (6: 116.)

Also, in some cases, all who participate in the expedition share in the booty; again all who see the capture of the animal have this right. Under certain conditions, all rights of acquisition are suspended and the captured animal regarded as the common property of the whole community. This is true of all booty in time of scarcity. And at all times, according to Rink, "animals rare on account of their size or other unusual circumstances, were, more than ordinary species, considered common property." (53:28.) This holds universally of the whale. (For the description of a "whale-party," see 16. 1:167.)

If an animal gets away with the harpoon sticking in it, the finder is entitled to the animal, but the harpoon is returned to the proper owner, if he announces himself. (53:28; 16. 1:167.) On Hudson Bay the finder is allowed to keep the harpoon also. (5:582.)

Boas has discussed the property marks of the Alaskan Eskimo. These are found

"almost exclusively on weapons used in hunting, which after being dispatched, remain in the bodies of large game." Their purpose is to secure property-right in the animal in which the weapon is found." (19: 601.)

Such marks are not found among any other branch of the Eskimo. He concludes that

"this fact, taken in connection with the form and occurrence of such marks among the northeastern tribes of Asia, suggests that this custom like so many peculiarities of Alaskan Eskimo life, may be due to contact with Asiatic tribes." (10: 613.)

Anyone picking up driftwood is entitled to its possession. To make sure his right, all he has to do is to carry it above the high water line, and mark it in some way, such as putting a stone on it or cutting a notch in it. (53: 28; 42: 428; 16. 1: 167; 43: 110.)

"For this form of property the Eskimo has the greatest respect," says Nansen, "and one who has left a piece of driftwood on the shore may be sure of finding it again even several years after, unless Europeans have come along in the meantime. Anyone taking it would be regarded as a scoundrel." Nansen emphasizes this custom "as a proof of the Eskimo's scrupulous respect for the moral law which he recognizes." (43: 162.)

Somló has shown that among peoples of the most primitive types of culture (e.g., Tasmanians, Botocudos, Negritos, Seri Indians, etc.), trade ("Güterverkehr") is carried on both intra- and inter-tribally. (57: 155.) So, too, "notwithstanding their very limited feeling as to the accumulation of property, the Eskimo have carried on a kind of trade among themselves." (53: 11.) It has been discovered that articles have travelled all the way from Asia to Davis Strait or Hudson Bay. But as a practical necessity, each community has to depend upon itself for the staples of life. The articles of commerce are comparatively few. They are especially desirous of procuring things made of metal, for use in their weapons and tools. Well might the Greenlanders laugh when they were offered gold and silver coins, but they were eager for objects of steel. (40a: 192.) The Eskimo were the first American aborigines to become acquainted with smelted iron, from the Norse discoverers and settlers. (40a: 201.)

"Their trading negotiations," says Crantz, "are simply and concisely conducted. They make mutual exchanges with each other for what they need." (16. 1: 160.) Amundsen credits them with "sharp business instinct." From his liberal presents to them in return for their gifts, they "soon discovered that it was more remunerative to bring their goods as gifts." He was

therefore "obliged to decline all gifts, and introduce regular trading instead." (1. 1:179.) One Eskimo, who would get rich quick in more southerly parts of the continent, "noticed that I liked to have neatly sewn clothes; so he bought garments from some of his friends and sold them to me at a large profit." (1. 2:55.)

If an Eskimo repents of a bargain, he has a right to return the purchased article and take back his equivalent, even after considerable time. (53:29; 16. 1:167; 43:111.) Another interesting trait is brought out by Holm's experience. He says, "When we had traded with one, the others regarded it as their right, that we trade with them and give them the same as the first." For instance, a man asked and received a piece of arrow-iron for a piece of driftwood. Then another came with an old board and asked for a like piece of iron. "He explained that they always gave people what they asked for." (30:168.) A curious trading custom is reported from Alaska. It is called "patukhtuk," and is described as follows:

"When a person wants to start one of these he takes some article into the kashim [men's house] and gives it to the man with whom he wishes to trade, saying at the same time, 'It is a patukhtuk.' The other is bound to receive it, and give in return some article of about equal value; the first man then brings in something else, and so they alternate until, sometimes, two men will exchange nearly everything they originally possessed; the man who received the first present being bound to continue until the originator wishes to stop." (45: 309.)

THE ADOLESCENT GIRL AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

BY MIRIAM VAN WATERS, A. M.,

Fellow in Anthropology, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

OUTLINE

- I. Introduction: A. Problem; B. Method.
- II. General Discussion of Literature: A. Genetic Theory; B. Physical Theory; C. Social Theory; D. Religion Theory; E. Sequence Theory.
- III. Primitive Theories of Menstruation: A. Asexual Type; B. Absence of Theory; C. Sex-Emphasis; D. External Mark of Social Maturity; E. Supernatural Type (1. Impurity Theory; 2. Mystery Theory).
- IV. Variation in Degrees of Attention Paid to Puberty of Girls: 1. Minimum Degree; 2. List of Peoples having no "Puberty" Ceremonies; 3. Intermediate Emphasis; 4. Lost of Peoples Representing Maximum Degrees of Attention.
- V. Some Constituent Elements of "Puberty"-Ceremonies: A. Table of Items; B. Significance of Factors listed in "Puberty"-Ceremonies.
- VI. Native Explanations of "Puberty"-Customs: A. Tattooing; B. Circumcision; C. Other "Puberty"-Customs (1. Esthetic; 2. Physical; 3. Pedagogical; 4. Religious and Magical; 5. Social).
- VII. Sex-Discrimination: A. Absence of Discrimination; B. Discrimination Common to Other Social Groups; C. Some Factors of Discrimination (1. Social Class; 2. Religion; 3. Pre-Marital Status; 4. Inversion).
- VIII. Some Suggestions as to Modern Application; (A. Case I; B. Case 2).
- IX. Conclusions: (A. Periodicity; B. Individuation; C. Symbiosis).
- X. Bibliography.

The writer wishes to express deepest gratitude to those who have aided this work; to Dr. Alex. F. Chamberlain for constant encouragement and criticism; to Dr. Theodate Smith, and Dr. Louis N. Wilson; and to Mr. Gilbertson for references dealing with the Eskimo.

I. INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of an attempt to envisage clearly the problems centering in the adolescent girl in modern society. In the conflicting mass of evidence and opinion little was discovered upon which to base scientific results. Hence, it was found essential to place the foundation in the generic life of the race,

before attempting solutions of specific characters. In this reliance on a vast human background, the "recapitulation theory" is not, of necessity, assumed.

A. *Problem*

In dealing with the problem of the adolescent girl, from the anthropological point of view, we shall attempt to discover the primitive attitude toward the period of puberty in girls. We shall seek to present primitive theories of the physiological changes that attend this period, and their social and religious consequences. We then take up variation in degrees of attention paid to puberty in girls, and attempt to indicate some facts of the ethnological distribution of "puberty"-ceremonies. These range from complete non-observance, through varied intermediate degrees, up to a maximum of emphasis. Some constituent elements of "puberty"-ceremonies are set forth and classified as they relate to physical, esthetic, pedagogical, social or religious aspects. Next, the native explanations of these aspects are considered, in the hope of showing clearly and definitely the psychological factors that determine the observance of puberty in girls. The primitive attitude is further expressed in the amount of sex-discrimination present; this is analyzed into certain types and factors. Finally, some attempt is made to compare this material with data of a preliminary survey of the delinquent adolescent girl begun by the writer.

Thus the present problem limits itself to the attitude of primitive society toward the adolescent girl, not trying to solve the separate problem of the girl's reaction to this attitude, and the psychological factors therein involved.

B. *Method*

This study makes no claim to exhaustiveness. The data presented are characteristic of primitive peoples of widely different somatic and cultural types, and, hence, are representative of generic humanity. The method is necessarily comparative, rather than regional, but it has been attempted, first, to use reports only of trained observers; second, to supply from these reports sufficient context of religious and social status, to avoid misinterpretation. In addition, the method of native explanations has been introduced. This method cannot supply evidence of the origin and development of "puberty"-customs,

nor give support to theories, but it furnishes insight into the present significance of these customs in the mind of the people who practice them. Finally, it has been recognized that the term "puberty" applied loosely to anthropological material has little meaning. Physiological puberty varies with race, sex, climate, altitude, nutrition, heredity, social status, occupation, etc. Hence, we have no method of discovering whether "puberty"-ceremony and physical puberty coincide. Social "puberty" varies still more extensively, and may both precede and follow physical maturity. Hence, it should be remembered that we use the term "puberty" merely in a conventional sense.

II. GENERAL DISCUSSION OF LITERATURE

Theories of the significance of adolescence among primitive peoples have been very numerous in this century of quickened interest in the child. It being impossible to present here a complete and coherent historical survey, we shall merely attempt to indicate some of the more important types.

A. *The Genetic Theory*

To Dr. G. Stanley Hall we chiefly owe the genetic concept of adolescence, and the genetic method of approach. This has been compared to a new Darwinism (*Amer. Anthropol.*, 1904, N. S. VI, 539). As applied to the adolescent girl, the recapitulation theory may have far-reaching consequences. President Hall thus seeks to explain physical and mental precocity in the growth-curve of girls by reference to past activities of the race:

"It seems plausible, from what we know of savage races, phallicism, etc., that the female would at first be prematurely impregnated, at least as soon as she became attractive to the other sex, on account of the hypertrophied sex-passion in the human male, and would have been forced to assume maternal functions before nature had completed her preparations therefor. Many of the institutions of higher and even savage life, however, later came in that would tend to postpone fertilization. Thus, we should have an early stimulus of the reproductive function followed phyletically by a more or less gradual postponement of it. With this delay, the cell-development that had formerly gone to genesis would turn back to individuation. . . . On this view, part of the sudden and early increment in girls is a trace of ancient but now deferred maternity . . . now turned to personal augmentation by male restraint and female coyness." (35.1: 42.)

In our study of the girl among primitive peoples, we find little evidence of the predominance of the sexual element that would render this hypothesis probable, at least for uncivilized races now existing. Dr. Hall's further emphasis of religion in relation to the adolescent girl is amply illustrated by facts collected in the present survey. (35:561-647.) The author's statement, however, that "the Madonna conception expresses man's highest comprehension of woman's real nature" (35. II: 627, 646), is probably not true of primitive humanity, though it may be of a specialized type. As an outcome of geneticism should be mentioned the Freudian theory of the development of sexuality in the individual. According to this school, sex-life is present at birth, manifesting itself in some form accessible to observation as early as the third year, or before. (28:34.) The child passes through various levels of "polymorph-perverse Anlage," up to the period of adolescence, the latter portion of which is especially prone to neuroses, due to repressed desires of childhood (p. 44). For our present purpose, it suffices to say that this view renders the term "adolescence" and "puberty" of no significance, unless, indeed, we might describe puberty as the birthday of hysteria. According to Freud, it is this polymorphic perversity of the child that is most analogous to the sex-life of the primitive or uncultured woman (pp. 44-45). While the development of this instinct in the girl is always of a bi-sexual nature, at puberty her dangers are especially great, owing to repression (pp. 62, 69).

With Freud we should compare Havelock Ellis, who also accepts the genetic view, but does not adopt the theory of the unconscious. Ellis notes that it seems clear that nervous and psychic sexual activities have their first springs in early childhood, but it is probably true that the soundest and healthiest individuals show no definite signs till puberty. (20:35.)

B. *Physical Theory*

The purely physical theory of "puberty"-customs has never obtained many supporters. Ploss explains thus the rite of circumcision as a primitive effort to assist nature, and analogous mutilations and physical ceremonies as derived phenomena.

Webster also uses this explanation of circumcision (93:37) and Hyrtl, Kisch, and, also, Broca, adopt this view, suggesting that, in case of girls, circumcision arose in localities where it was a physiological necessity (*Ann. de Gynéc.*, Paris, 1908, 1:485-487). Westermarck, and, to a certain extent, Ploss also, give the physical theory a broader application. Westermarck, in his chapter on "Means of Attraction," holds that the chief items in "puberty"-ceremonies are means taken by one sex to attract the attention and favor of the other. This same impulse to adorn and reveal is found among animals in the form of secondary sex-characters, due, not to sexual selection, in the Darwinian sense, but to natural selection based on the need of the sexes to find one another during the period of mating. (95:165-212.) Thus, decoration, mutilations, rites, and ceremonies of adolescence are analogous to the bright pigments, wattles, spurs, antlers, perfumes, etc., which the human race has lost the power of acquiring. Much, seemingly, may be said for this theory, but it fails to consider the profound religious and social stress placed by primitive peoples on puberty. It ignores, too, similar customs that take place at widely different stages of life of the individual, all of which cannot possibly relate to sex-attraction.

A specialized, fragmentary form of the physical theory has been suggested by Edward Tregear (*J. Anthr. Inst.*, Lond., 1895, vol. 25, pp. 87-88). He seeks to explain taboos, limitations, seclusion, and all forms of disability incurred by the adolescent girl, as due to the primitive recognition of need of rest and continence during periodicity. This was first sanctioned by religion, later it generated into meaningless customs and ideas of the defiling nature of menstruation. The author, as chief inspector of factories in New Zealand, has had opportunity to compare primitive and modern conditions in this respect and strongly advocates return to the former. As the male counterpart to this theory, Dall supposes rites of piercing, tattooing, labretifery, circumcision, etc., to be due to the custom of submitting the boy at puberty to tests of endurance. Later, this became a symbol of maturity, privilege and obligation to tribal rights, particularly the right to participate in sexual intercourse. When these rights were extended to women, it was because this symbol was recognized as a privilege granted in the course of advancing culture (*3d Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.*, pp. 80-81).

C. Social Theory

"Puberty"-ceremonies, as means of tribal or group incorporation, have been studied by Webster, Schurtz, Andree, Lippert, and others. Webster holds that puberty-rites formerly universal became the basis of all secret societies. The "men's house," thus created, became the center of tribal regulation, defence, medicine, art, religion. Seclusion of the uninitiated and women from the secret societies preserved tribal solidarity. The author remarks:

"Puberty-institutions for initiation of young men into manhood are among the most widespread and characteristic features of primitive life." (93: 32.)

He adds (p. 45):

"The various ceremonies which take place on the arrival of girls at puberty are distinctly less impressive than those of the boys; as a rule, there is no attempt at a formal initiation possessing tribal aspects and secret rites."

Webster's view, though very suggestive, does not account for all the facts of adolescent initiation. As van Gennep points out, Webster ignores comparison of rites from the point of view of sequence, and confuses physiological with social "puberty." (29: 93-94.)

Schurtz's valuable collection of facts leads him to a similar conclusion. By the "instinct of sociability," developing at puberty, and uniting the male sex into age-classes and groups, special social interests are served best. He does not attempt treatment of puberty-rites for the girl. (74.)

Thomas adopts these views. Secret societies, circumcision, initiation-ceremonies, tattooing, scarification, etc., are "devices by which men escape from the tyranny of the maternal system." They represent "first attempts to synthetize the male forces of the group." (92: 90.)

D. Religion Theory

This type of theory is associated with the names of Frazer, Crawley, Haddon, Spencer and Frobenius; the basis upon which all build is Tylor's conception of primitive animism. Frazer and Haddon regard "puberty-rites" as means taken by primitive man to assimilate himself to his totem. Mutilations, cicatrices, tooth-knocking, painting, etc., represent totemistic features upon

the human body. This view has been successfully opposed by Goldenweiser (33) from the side of totemism itself. Evidence to support it from data of "puberty"-ceremonies seems lacking, since the same rites exist where totemism is absent. Crawley holds the cause of these rites to be fear of contagion, and means taken to remove it; all persons of one sex are conceived as dangerous to the other, but especially so during sex-crises, such as puberty, childbirth, etc. (14.) Spencer proposed the idea of religious sacrifice, which later developed into the concept of a sacred part for continued well-being of the whole. (22. III: 65.) Frobenius maintains that "puberty"-ceremonies are the result of ancestor-cult and the desire to assimilate the novices to the condition of spirits.

These theories explain rites pertaining to sex on the basis of religion,—a new and extreme example of this type has been recently set forth, which seeks to explain all religion on the basis of sex-consciousness. Schroeder suggests that the beginning of self-conscious sex-life in the race marked the beginning of religious life. Phallic worship constituted the first historically known reverential rites. (73:145.) So, "all religion, in its beginning, is a mere misinterpretation of sex-ecstasy," a kind of "psycho-sexual perversion." And, thus, "all puberty-ceremonies are explained from this point of view" (p. 125, pp. 145-146). But Schroeder's conclusion cannot possibly hold for the entire field; the vast majority of "puberty-rites" are not capable of explanation in this way.

A careful paper by Daniels emphasizes the religious point of attack from a wholly different angle. For him, initiation-rites are expressive of physiological and psychological changes at puberty. They show both the need and the natural generic predisposition toward the spiritual change formulated in the theological doctrine of regeneration. (15: 63.) The wealth of detailed facts supports this conclusion. But it is only when details of ceremonial are separated from the cycle in which they occur that they can be explained by a single principle. The matter is far more complex. For instance, the ceremonies of "re-birth" frequently take place during early childhood, and have no reference whatever to adolescent changes. Again, the same type of ritual may be used in the various stages of life of the individual.

E. Sequence Theory. "Rites de Passage"

Van Gennep was about the first to recognize this complexity. In a noteworthy book on primitive rites and ceremonies, he demonstrated the error of the old classification into "puberty"-rites, marriage-rites, etc., each explained independently on the basis of magic, animism, totemism, or any other theory. Primitive ceremonies, he maintained, must be studied from the point of view of sequence; they begin at the conception of the child, and follow him through life in unbroken series. Each rite may be interpreted as marking a passage from some stage to another; thus, each age, condition, change of status or occupation, submission to new masters or chiefs, entrance upon new situations, as well as physical passage over thresholds, openings, etc., is indicated by a "rite de passage." These often form a fixed whole, and can only be arbitrarily sectioned into detached ceremonies. (29:93-163.) Dr. Ernst Samter (70) arrives at similar conclusions, and uses the sequence-method.

Thus, the impossibility of reducing ceremonies of primitive life to any one theory has been made evident. Recognition of the extreme degree of variation and complexity attending so vital a human period as adolescence is the first duty of a student in this field. We proceed to investigate what concepts primitive peoples themselves have held or now hold in regard to the puberty of girls.

III. PRIMITIVE THEORIES OF MENSTRUATION

In primitive thought, no less than in modern science, the phenomenon of menstruation has been fertile in theoretical explanations. These show the greatest variation, from the most direct and empirical to the most fantastic. The primitive solutions of this problem are intimately bound up with the attitude toward sex in general, and the social position of women. Particularly are they correlated with the treatment given the adolescent girl; yet here no distinctly causal relation can be maintained. Side by side with the theory that has the least to do with sex, or with mystery, may exist customs of seclusion, fasting and elaborate taboos (Shuswap; some Australian). Some of the chief types of menstruation-theories found among primitive peoples are briefly as follows.

A. Asexual or Secondary Type

The human element, as distinct from the purely sexual, has not been sufficiently emphasized in the study of primitive concepts of puberty. There is not always a sex-basis given even to the primary sex-characters themselves. A social-economic explanation, *e. g.*, has been thought of by the Shuswap for so elementary a sex-function as menstruation. In Teit's account of the Shuswap legend this is clearly seen:

"Formerly, the men menstruated, and not the women. When Coyote was working in the world, putting things to rights, he considered this matter, and said to himself, 'It is not right that men should menstruate. It is very inconvenient, for they do all the hunting, and most of the traveling. Women stay more at home, and, therefore, it will be better if they menstruate, and not the men.' Whereupon he took some of the menstrual fluid from men and threw it upon the women, saying, 'Henceforth, women shall menstruate, and not men.' " (89: 626-627.)

A crude approximation to modern biological theory might be traced in this conception of a state of affairs where sex is superimposed on a common asexual type. (Goodale, *Science*, Feb. 13, 1913.)

Similar in implication is a myth of the Northern Shoshone. Here, too, the periodic function has its source, not in attributes fundamental to a sex, but in mere chance (50: 239):

"In the beginning, Wolf wanted to make everything easy and pleasant for the Indians, Coyote tried to make them work hard, as they must do to-day. . . . Wolf said to Coyote, 'Let there be no menstruation.' Coyote thought it was proper that women should menstruate, so he took some blood and threw it at his daughter. She began to menstruate, and went to a menstrual lodge. . . . To-day things are as Coyote wished them."

It should be mentioned that, although the fact of menstruation is fortuitous, the custom of seclusion was the result of a volitional act on the part of a girl herself.

These two myths are sufficient illustration of the numerous widespread explanations that are comprised under the simple, incidental type. Psychologically related to this type are the direct, natural modes of treatment: rest, bathing, lying in sand or earth, change of garments and diet, variation in the usual activities; and, possibly, the customs of steaming, smoking, "roasting," etc.

B. Absence of Theory, etc.

It is commonly stated that all primitive peoples view menstruation as mysterious or unclean. Thus, Havelock Ellis observes (21:14-15):

"An important origin of the mystery which women have aroused in men, and even in themselves, lies in the periodic menstrual function. This function, unlike any normal physiological function in men, has been an everlasting source of marvel and of profound repugnance among all primitive races. They have been singularly unanimous on this point, and even seem to show a certain amount of unanimity in their explanations. . . . Everywhere, during the continuance of the flow, the women is regarded as more or less unclean."

Ploss, Crawley and Frazer give expression to the same opinion. It is true that ideas of mystery, impurity and the supernatural are somewhat widespread in primitive attitudes toward this function; but it can not be maintained, by any means, that such ideas are universal. The list of peoples having no "puberty"-rites, as well as no notion of mysticism in menstruation, includes primitive stocks like the Veddas, Todas, certain of the Bantu tribes, some Indians of California, etc., as well as the cultured Nambuthiris (representing Vedic Brahmanism). With this last group women are not required to keep aloof during menstruation, as other Brahman women. (42. II:263, 288.) It is significant that the Indo-Malaysian inter-tropical lands, regarded by many ethnologists as the cradle of the human race, exhibit both types of attitude in their extreme degrees. Some of the Melanesians (*e. g.*, the Koita) have "no special ceremony when the catamenia first appear, nor is a girl at this time specially avoided, or considered especially dangerous." (75:140.) So, among the Orang Laut, no notice is taken of menstruation, nor do men avoid women in this condition. (81. 1:54.) Women of the Bontoc Igorot work, eat and sleep as usual. (43:700-703.) It will be seen in Section IV that this entire region occupies first place in the absence, or in the presence of minimum degrees, of attention to puberty. Coincident with this is the ten-year unmitigated seclusion of some of the girls of the New Britain group. Thus, in this limited and extremely ancient area, we see the complexity and variety of which the human race is capable in dealing with the phenomena of puberty. Assuredly, no dogmatic statements can be accepted, and it should be remembered that, even among the data we now

possess, it is the esoteric observances of puberty, and not the equally important common human attitude, that has been most frequently stressed. (Chamberlain, in *Science*, May 7, 1909, p. 743.)

C. *Sex-Emphasis*

A maximum degree of sex-examples is found in those theories which explain the first menstruation as a marriage, or as the result of union with some supernatural beings. In Cambodia, girls before puberty are called "*prohmocarei*, i.e., the chaste;" after puberty, they are believed to be the brides of Indra, and are described as those "who go into the shade." (Cabaton, in 22. 111:163). Among the Baganda of Africa, the first menstruation is called a marriage, and the girl is looked on as a bride, and is clothed and fed as such, though there is no evidence to show that actual marriage takes place at puberty. (66:80.) In the Baganda description of the girl as being "at peace" is found a curious echo of the Cambodian expression just noted. Among some peoples, the moon is held responsible for the first menstruation. Possibly there are traces here of primitive observation of the relation between periodicity and the lunar cycle. The Saibai, of Torres Sts., maintain that the moon, in the shape of a man, embraces the girl, when she is full-grown, and that the halo around the moon represents the girl's blood. (75:206.) The same story is told at Yam and Tutu, and is also found on the neighboring coast of New Guinea, and at Mawata (p. 207). Traces of this explanation appear in Australia.

The Siamese believe that evil spirits hover around the pubescent girl, and, by their intercourse with her, cause the wound from which she suffers each month. (Loubère, *Siam*, 1:203.)

There is much evidence for supposing that one of the psychological reasons for marriage before puberty (as distinct from economic and social reasons) is to be found in this belief in the supernatural cause of the first menstruation, and the desire to rob the deity of his privilege. Thus, failure to marry before puberty becomes as disgraceful as an illegitimate connection. Among the Nattu (Cochin), marriage is celebrated at the tenth year, and "a girl who has reached the age of puberty as a virgin is considered impure, and no person will take her as a

wife." (42. 1:32.) So, the father of a girl, who permits her to attain puberty before the arrangement of marriage, was punished among the ancient Hindus (Laws of Manu) as if he had committed an abortion. Frequently, throughout the Cochin district and elsewhere, this belief becomes crystallized into a ceremony independent both of marriage and of the puberty-rite. Among the Nayars (high-caste Sudras), girls undergo the "*tali*-tying ceremony" shortly before puberty. This ceremony, as described by Haddon, consists in tying the girdle of the girl with that of a man of suitable caste, chosen by her relatives. The ceremony involves the right of intercourse for four or five days, and is obligatory only for females. (42. 1:xv.) It is considered a religious impurity for a girl to attain puberty before the performance of this ceremony. The puberty-ceremony proper, however, may be put off to "a convenient day," though when it occurs, it is fairly elaborate. (42. II:22, 30.) Among the Kadupattans (p. 106), marriage occurs between the ages of ten and twelve, and, at puberty, there is ceremonial observance for four days, but the "*tali*-tying" ceremony must be performed before puberty, or caste will be lost. Here, the "puberty"-ceremony is by no means an initiation into sexual life, which occurs both before puberty and before marriage, and is seemingly determined by a belief that the first menstruation is, in itself, a form of marriage.

A similar state of affairs exists with the primitive Todas, who have no "puberty"-ceremonies for either sex. Here, the girl is betrothed or married in infancy; shortly before puberty, a man of an outside clan must cover her with his mantle. Fourteen or fifteen days later, a strong man, of any clan but her own, must have intercourse with her, and this "must take place before puberty . . . few things are regarded as more disgraceful than that this ceremony should be delayed till after this period." (65:103.) For these and analogous customs there are, without doubt, numerous factors of explanation, but the theory of the sexual origin of menstruation probably plays the dominant rôle.

Somewhat differently, the same theory is involved in certain types of circumcision ceremonies and mutilations, and in the custom of religious prostitution. We have no evidence that these modes of treatment are primitive. They occur, apparently,

as secondary developments, under the influence of religion, magic, caste and the like. Borrowing may here be a factor of the greatest importance. For instance, Iver notes of the Nayar "*tali*-tying ceremony" that, although there is a modern tendency for the withdrawal of the ceremony, it is kept up for the sake of social distinction, for, originally, it was borrowed from the Brahmans, "in the belief that it would lead to social distinction." (42. II: 29.) Similar instances are numerous. Thus, religion, in combination with a belief in the sexual origin of menstruation, may bring about extreme modes of treatment. Some theorists have sought the origin of circumcision in the notion of religious offering or dedication. Circumcision thus becomes a sacrifice.

Here, we are clearly outside the domain of facts, for, as will become evident in the list of native explanations of "puberty"-ceremonies, the idea of sacrifice is nowhere mentioned by primitive peoples themselves. Nevertheless, in the case of the circumcision of girls, the theory of sacrifice has some justification. Bearing in mind that the first menstruation is sometimes held to be a marriage, the ceremony of circumcision might there be conceived as a sacrifice or offering of the girl to the supernatural being who had first espoused her. Fantastic as this appears, it is not far from the facts in the case of religious prostitution as practiced by some of the ancient Semites. (Macler, in 19. 1: 797.) The same idea may lurk in the Phœnician religious ceremonial before marriage, where, at the feast of Bylus, the bride must sacrifice either her hair or her virginity. (15: 67.) The Australian rite of "*Atna-Ariltha*" must be explained from several points of view, if, indeed, it can be adequately explained. However, the presence here of the theory of the sexual origin of menstruation, held by certain of the South-East tribes, furnishes a highly suggestive coincidence. (85: 93.)

The complexity of the problem appears when we consider a similar type of mutilation, formerly practiced by the Volans, a fishing-caste of the Cochin district. Here, the custom prevails of "*theralikka*," or "causing" the girl to attain maturity. After the operation, it is announced that the girl has reached puberty, and seclusion and ceremonial are gone through with. The girl is now marriageable. The object of the custom is stated

to be to relieve the parents of the support of the girl. It is important to note that "*theralikka*" is now being abandoned by the Volans *because of the health of the girls*. Here, the primary cause of the custom was economic, not sexual, and the reason for its withdrawal physiological. It is a serious mistake, therefore, to group all phenomena of a seemingly sex-origin under a common heading.

The sex-emphasis type of theory occurs with the least frequency, and has the narrowest range of ethnological distribution in comparison with other types of theory. Its importance lies chiefly in the light it tends to shed on extreme modes of treatment of the girl at the period of puberty.

D. The External Mark of Social Maturity

The first menstruation frequently marks the social maturity of the girl, as among certain peoples, circumcision, slaying of the first animal or warrior, etc., do for the boy. This maturity may be tacitly expressed by the widespread custom of change of dress or ornaments, such as the insertion of labrets (Déné and Salish Indians), completion of the last tattooing (Fiji and some of the pagan tribes of the Malay Peninsula), admission to the women's club-house (Bontoc Igorot), or to secret societies, hereditary or acquired fraternities, such as the Kotikili of the Zuñi (86:103), etc., or by undertaking the business of some profession, such as shamanism, etc. Thus, among the Subanuns of Sindangan Bay (Philippine Islands), where the only attention paid to puberty is change to adult garments, the women who are to be shamans assume their religious and medical functions at puberty. (13:54, 71-73.) The same is true of some of Algonkian Indian tribes, where the girls designed to become "medicine-women" have been subjected to hard usage since childhood, take up their profession at the period of puberty. (Owen, in 22. 1:323.)

The Korean capping-ceremony, as originally carried out, united several phases of maturity. It did not, however, occur always at the onset of puberty, being sometimes delayed until the fifteenth year. Here, we see ceremonial and impressive change of dress, re-naming and presentation to ancestors, together with the assumption of adult responsibility. This is all

expressed in a formula of blessing, which was the same for both sexes. (49.)

Some actual external sign of social maturity may be given the girl at the first menstruation. The Papuans of Yule Island give the girl a large knit carrying-bag, as token of her maturity; thus, "with woman, a bag means womanhood; a boy, when he gets his first bag, becomes a loafer, a girl becomes a worker." (Van Goethem, in *Anthropos*, 1912, vol. 7, 792-795.)

This emancipation from childhood may be expressed symbolically. The Uniche Veddhas have borrowed the custom of seclusion from the Sinhalese, but have added a variant. At the first menstruation, a pot of water is placed on the girl's head by a female relative. They proceed to a *nuga*-tree, where the pot is dashed to pieces. (77:94.) With this may be compared the breaking of a glass or dish at the marriage-ceremony of the Cochin Jews, and similar rites. (42. II:410.)

With the Melanesians of Wagawaga, puberty marks the first time when individuals of both sexes may eat human flesh. (76:559.) The removal of taboos, restrictions and limitations in general frequently occurs automatically at puberty. Thus, among the Cochin Chedans, the girl, before puberty, "cannot eat meat, nor touch any vessel or food in the house of her husband's family." (42. II:370.)

Vows made by the girl's parents in her behalf at birth, of achievement, sacrifice, occasionally involving suicide, etc., are frequently carried out at puberty. (12:30.)

A similar explanation of the significance of puberty seems to be indicated in the frequent customs of leaving home, setting out on a journey alone, disappearance, etc. Daniels (15) refers to this in connection with boys only, but the custom is by no means confined to them. The Maidu of California pay a maximum of attention to the social aspects of puberty in girls, and the initial step in their ceremonial is the disappearance of the girl into the hills at the onset of the first menstruation. (18:236.) With the Naga tribes of Manipur, the girl is tattooed at puberty, at which time she leaves home and resides in another village. (Hodson, *Naga Tribes of Manipur*, Lond., 1911, p. 31, p. 145.) Many other examples might also be cited.

Frequently, however, this arrival at social maturity is expressed in definite terms. The girl may be given complete

freedom. At puberty, the Lolos of Kientchang, in western China, give the girl absolute liberty,—“care is completely devolved on her;” she is free to come and go, to be absent for long periods, to visit her distant relatives, etc. (Legendre, in *Rep. Smiths. Inst.*, 1912, pp. 569-586.) Nordenskiöld reports of the South American tribes of the Rio Pilcomayo (Ashluslays, Chorotis, etc.) that, after the first menstruation, the girls are absolutely free in the community. (60:78.) Koch-Grünberg observed the same facts among the girls of certain tribes of northwestern Brazil. (46:91, 100.) This freedom, dating from the first menstruation, must not be confused with the freedom of sex-intercourse sometimes given to youth of both sexes until marriage. It frequently happens that the people who give the largest freedom to the adolescent girl hold irregular sexual relations in abhorrence, and maintain a high degree of chastity, as do, *e. g.*, the Lolos.

The onset of puberty, as marking social maturity and freedom in their highest degrees, is found among the Seri Indians of the Gulf of California. After the puberty-feast, and the painting of the girl's face with designs that are hereditary in the female line, the girl is free to marry, or to use her power of veto over offers of marriage. Pending deliberations, her kinswomen may erect for her a special house (*jacal*), where she may receive “the most intimate attentions from the clan-fellows of the groom.” The groom now enters upon a probationary period, during which he must give proof of his fitness in hunting and in rigorous self-control:

“During this period, the always dignified position occupied by the daughter of the family culminates; she is the observed of all observers, the subject of gossip among matrons and warriors alike . . . through his (the groom's) energy she is enabled to dispense largess with lavish hand, and, thus, to dignify her clan and honor her spouse . . . and, at the same time, she enjoys the immeasurable moral stimulus of realizing that she is the arbiter of the fate of a man who becomes warrior or outcast at her bidding, and, through him, of the future of two clans, *i.e.*, she is raised to a responsibility in both personal and tribal affairs, which, albeit temporary, is hardly lower than that of the warrior chief.”

Dr. McGee remarks further, “the moral test measures the character of the man; in every fact, it at the same time, both measures and makes the character of the woman.” At the end of the probationary year there is a marriage-feast, and the

groom "enters his bride's *jacal* as perpetual guest; while the bride passes from a half-wanton heyday into the duller routine of matronly existence." (56:11, 165, 280-283. Comp. 55:371-383.)

E. *Supernatural Type: Theories of Impurity, Mystery, etc.*

The wide dimensions and numerous subdivisions of this type of primitive attitude toward puberty are too complex to be adequately summed up in the following brief account. A few tendencies, merely, can be indicated. Since the majority of writers in this field emphasize the attitude of "impurity," "uncleanness," horror and the like, it may be well to take up this aspect first.

1. *Theory of Impurity*

By artificial analysis only can the idea of impurity of this function be distinguished from mystery, since the two are almost everywhere interrelated. As we shall see, in dealing with "Sex Discrimination," the taboos enforced upon the adolescent girl do not differ in kind from those imposed on various other social types, such as warriors, priests, mourners, invalids, pregnant women, fathers and husbands, shamans, students, adolescent boys, and a comprehensive list of individuals passing from one stage of life, or station, to the other, as shown by van Gennep, and, later, by Samter. The "impurity" incurred by the girl at puberty is not, then, an isolated instance, but must be studied in relation to the complex problem of sacred objects and taboo-violation. Hence, it may be pointed out that all the cases cited by Ploss, under the heading "Menstrual blood as impure" (62. 1:249-267), as well as innumerable other instances, may, more fittingly, be cited under "*Menstrual blood as taboo.*"

As Jevons remarks, when a thing is taboo, it is charged with mysterious energy; "the action of taboo is always mechanical; contact with the tabooed object communicates the taboo-infection the intentions of the taboo-breaker have no effect upon the action of the taboo." (Cited in 96. 1:233.) Instead of the action of taboo being mechanical, it seems to resemble such biological phenomena as the infection of bacteria. This infection may pertain to the most sacred and holy objects, mere touching of which demands ceremonial purification," no less searching

than that relating to menstruation. For details of purification required after touching sacred animals, sacrifices, etc., one may consult Frazer. (26. II: 27-29.)

Ploss gives numerous examples of the feeling of impurity of menstruation in the ancient world, but omits many striking cases where no such feeling is present. (62. 1: 255-259.) Until touched by Mohammedanism, the races about the Mediterranean seem to have had no special regard for this function. The Vedic Brahmans (represented by the Nambuthiris) did not seclude their women, nor regard menstruation as unclean; and their spiritual descendants keep up this primitive attitude in the midst of a district where the idea of impurity is almost universal. (42. II: 288.) The Laws of Manu took notice of menstruation where the girl, on reaching puberty, was unmarried. So, among the Syrians, though we have no direct evidence as to the most ancient customs, it is probable that the Syrians in the Cochin district, who, in other respects, hold to their primitive conditions, are representative in this matter also. Here, at the first menstruation, and thereafter, there is no seclusion, nor impurity; the girl "conducts herself in such way that nobody knows anything about it" (p. 448).

Passing to the modern world, we note both presence and absence of the idea of impurity in widely different areas; the latter has been, for the most part, ignored. Ploss states that the belief that menstruation is impure goes all through Africa. (62. 1: 263.) That this is far from the facts can be seen by reference to the list of African tribes that pay no attention to puberty, some of them the most primitive. There is, moreover, some evidence that *absence* of menstruation is considered impure, or malign. With the Baganda, the girl in whom this function was absent had a pernicious influence on gardens, and was subject to certain restrictions. Her husband, before he went to battle, pierced her slightly with his spear; otherwise, he would be sure to fall. (66: 80.) So, with the Cochin Devangas, the girl before puberty is subject to food-restrictions, and is not permitted to touch food, or any vessel in the house of her husband's family. (42. II: 370.) Among the Endo-speaking peoples of Nigeria, the girl undergoes no seclusion, while mourners are held in superstitious dread, and are subject to numerous restrictions. (Thomas, *Endo-Speak. Peoples of Nig.*,

Lond., 1910, pp. 28-29.) The peoples of Abyssinia (Negroid, Semitic and Hamitic), under the influence of conflicting and borrowed religions, recognize an elaborate ceremonial uncleanness, and go to extreme degrees of protecting chastity, such as infibulation and circumcision. Here is noted the "unbounded influence of the cult of the Virgin and a pagan goddess." (Littmann, in 19. 1:58.) Among the Bantu Bondei, girls are secluded for twelve days, and, in their "puberty"-ceremonial there is a maximum of beating, burning and reviling, physical operations, etc., with the object of purifying the girl, and preparing her for marriage. (Dale, in *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, Lond., vol. 25, p. 193.) This author notes that the ceremony is not so elaborate now as formerly. While it might appear that the maximum sex-emphasis was withdrawing under the influence of civilizing contact, on the other hand, it is interesting to note that circumcision, etc., is a late development among the Bantu. (Thomas, in 22. II: 52.) Similarly, it is held that their warlike qualities are of recent origin.

With the Nandi of East Africa, girls are secluded two months and undergo intricate rites of purification, yet, in the course of their circumcision-ceremony, they wear the garments, implements and decorations of the warriors, showing that their condition is not considered impure. When these are thrown away, it is because the girl has winced during the operation, or has failed to pass certain ordeals of courage, and not because of uncleanness. (Hollis, *The Nandi*, Lond., 1909, pp. 57-82.) The long seclusion of the girls of the Vai of Liberia in the "greengree bush," for pedagogical and social instruction, carries with it no idea of impurity; exactly the same kind of seclusion is undergone by the boys. (9. II: 308-314. Cf. II: 729-754.)

The Mendi have a special ceremony relating to simulated death and resurrection of adolescents, who are believed to be under the influence of the devil, and in need of purification. (61. II: 718.) But this purification extends to boys as well as girls, hence, it can be no indication of belief in impurity of menstruation.

Among African peoples who subject the girl to some sort of taboo, because of her unclean condition, are the Kafirs, with whom she is forbidden to touch or drink milk, though she is not secluded, nor is any special attention paid to her. (Kidd,

Savage Childhood, Lond., 1906, p. 103.) With boys, however, all clothes and everything touched during the seclusion of two or three months must be burned. (Kidd, *The Essent. Kafir*, 1904, p. 208.)

Australia presents the theory of impurity in its extremest form. During menstruation, the girl is kept half-a-mile from camp. She wears boughs of some tree of her totem, to warn men of her condition. She is constantly watched and guarded,—“the reason for this is the dread with which they regard the menstrual period of women.” If a man should see a woman in this condition, he would die, and the woman would be killed, if she let herself be seen. (41:776-777.) Yet the red clay and ocher deposits, highly esteemed for decorative purposes, are attributed to the catamenia of two supernatural women, who formerly traveled over that district. (85:442-464.) The same fluid is believed also to possess medicinal and invigorating properties. Evidence for this belief elsewhere may be found in Ploss. (62. 1:267-268.) It would be interesting to trace the primitive forshadowing here of glandular therapy in modern scientific experimentation.

Turning to Asia, we find the greatest contrasts, from the complete indifference of the Veddas, to the elaborate modes of purification in the Cochin district. The Chams celebrate puberty in girls with a two-days festival, followed by three months of seclusion, purification, etc. The girl is not considered impure; her social position is that of all Cham women the highest after the priests. (Cabaton, in 22. III:345.) Very generally in the Cochin district, the girl is believed to be assailed by demons at the time of puberty. These are guarded against, or expelled, by seclusion, fasting, bathing, processions, purification by the priest, offerings, magic, exorcism, etc. The Chedans place a special twig against the menstrual hut. (42. II:372.) The Kakkalans pay a magician, or *panan*, who uses exorcism, if necessary (p. 381). The Kammalans bathe constantly during seclusion, and, when it is ended, the caste-priest cleans the room, purifying it with water and cow-dung. (42. 1:345.) Among the Kaniyans, the girl, on the first day of menstruation, becomes outcasted, “*chandalini*,”—she is unclean and abhorred. At each recurring period, she is secluded, must eat no meat, must wear no ornaments or flowers; she must not clean her teeth or

chew betel-leaves; she must use no scent; she must not weep, nor sleep in the day-time. At the end of her four-day seclusion, after the first menstruation, she is bathed, dressed in cloth dyed yellow with turmeric; there is a feast with music, dancing, and elaborate ceremonial. The girl makes an offering of a triangular bark-figure, decorated with cocoanut-leaves and lighted candles, and sprinkled with the blood of a fowl; this is floated down the stream or tank, after washing. During seclusion, the girl is visited only by her girl friends, but, at the end of the period, a woman waves a vessel with water and lime and turmeric powder around the girl's face, to drive out demons. Four pieces of bread are thrown by a woman to the four corners of the house, to invoke the blessing of the deities of the four cardinal points. (42. 1:200-207.) But even here, where impurity is so much emphasized, the function is also conceived as possessing peculiar supernatural value. Parents of the girl, at the first appearance of puberty, consult Hindu astrologers, who predict the girl's entire career from the nature of the blood-drops (p. 203). Among the Oddens, girls are secluded fifteen days in a special hut, in which are placed iron and magic plants, to warn off demons. A fowl is killed on the seventh day, waved in front of the girl, and then thrown away. She must bathe in water which has passed through a sieve. Eggs are eaten, but she must not eat meat, for fear of demons. (42. II:391.) Among some of the Pulayants is found the belief that the menses are caused by demons. At the end of seven-days seclusion, seven cocoanuts are broken, and the milk poured over the girl's head. Gifts are distributed to seven girl friends, and to the caste men. A special singing ceremony is performed, with pipe and drum accompaniment, by a paid assistant, to cast out demons. The girl leaps with frantic movements, if possessed with demons, which are driven into a tree and nailed down by the priests. Offerings are then hung upon the nail. If the girl has no demons, she stands still during the ceremony. (42. 1:98-99.)

Among the Pullavans, the girl friends of the novice make these offerings, which have power to release the girl from the influence of demons (p. 146). Among the Tamil Brahmans, there is seclusion, but the idea of impurity is not apparent. Announcement is sent to the girl's friends, who come to visit her; she

stands on a grass mat, is dressed in red, and has a red mark placed on her forehead. She and her friends are sumptuously feasted; later, there is music and a procession. The girls are paid for their services. (42. II: 291.) The Velans secluded the girl in one part of the family hut for four days, and consider her in a state of pollution. An important element in the ceremony, however, is the singing of puberty-songs by all the caste men. A legend, told by the Velans, illustrates the curious mixture of ideas of impurity, the supernatural and the beautiful, that may center in this function, even with so poor and miserable a people:

A girl, during her period, was standing by a stream, lamenting the spoiling of her cloth. She implored the aid of the god, Parameswara, who suddenly appeared. He sprinkled water upon the cloth, which flew into the sky, and became a beautiful constellation. From a few more drops, sprinkled by the god, a man appeared, to whom was assigned the duty of washing clothes for the girls during menstruation. (42. 1: 156-157.)

Among the Indians of North and South America, the girl, at the beginning of puberty, is rarely regarded as impure in the same sense as with the people of the Cochin district. Her closeness to supernatural powers is recognized, and the importance of what she does at this period is strongly emphasized, but the taboos and restrictions, which are placed upon her, spring from social, religious and pedagogical motives, instead of isolated belief in the impurity of menstruation. Certain traces of this theory, however, do occur. Among the Carrier Indians (Déné), Morice reports that the pubescent girl is called "sak oesta," i. e., the "one that stays apart," while the father of the girl distributes gifts, "to wash out his shame." (58. V: 975.) Among other peoples, the custom of gift-distribution at the girl's puberty-ceremony is described as caused by the desire to set a good example to the girls, to make them generous, etc. (Cf. the *potlatch* of the N.W. tribes, etc.) With certain of the other Dénés, the girl is rigorously secluded, and called "asta," while in confinement, or "she that stays in a hole." Her seclusion may last from one to three years; fish and meat are taboo; and her magic defilement of game is so great that she must not bathe in streams or lakes during this period. We learn, however, that the same taboos are imposed upon warriors for their first four campaigns. If a youth is weak

or delicate, the adolescent girl is called upon to tattoo lines on his wrists or ankles, as a therapeutic measure (pp. 971-975, p. 978). Hence, we see that the attitude toward the girl is not solely that she is impure, because of her condition. With the Maidu of California, as with many other peoples, the girl is subject to a limited seclusion, *i. e.*, she emerges at certain periods, to mingle freely with the guests and relatives, who attend the puberty-festival. During the day, she remains within the menstrual hut, or receives training in the forest; at night, she is free to dance, sing and feast. (18:233.) Later, the husband of the girl, during her menstruation, must live on the same food that she does, and is debarred from hunting (p. 239).

Consequences of violation of the menstrual taboo shed some light upon the attitude toward this function. The Aleuts (of Eskimoan stock) seclude the girl for seven days, and strictly prohibit any man from seeing her. Violation of this taboo by men is a common folk-lore *motif*, the offender being usually the brother. On being pursued, they jump into the sea and become the first sea-otters, or other animals. (Chamberlain, in 19. 1:303.) Thus they become, though outcast, the source of benefit to the people; in other words, they are punished, but are not objects of loathing. In the legends of the Coos Indians, we find the girl as source of a new food-supply, or culture-factor; before this occurs, she is always subject to some unusual event or influence; she refuses to marry, or violates some custom of her people. Then she disappears, and the people find whales in the sea, an abundance of deer in the forest, etc. (St. Clair, in *J. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1909, v. 22, p. 25.) The taboo-*motif* is not so explicit here, as is the recognition of value in the unconventional, or unusual quality in the girl herself. It is the primitive counterpart of the *rôle* in the folk-lore of civilized races played by the "virgin" or the "virgin's son."—as Havelock Ellis points out, the word "virgin" applied to a woman who preferred to remain outside the patriarchal family, among the ancient "Aryans," thus violating convention. (20:165.) Frequently such a character is attributed to female deities. Violation of menstrual taboo among the Shoshone Indians is followed by death. If a man, or even a woman, should see the girl during her menstrual seclusion, they would sicken and die by vomiting. (50:214.) This represents the extreme form

of belief in impurity, yet, as we have already seen, the Shoshone attribute menstruation to the causal act of Coyote, who with this people, as often elsewhere, plays the rôle of half-god or culture-hero.

2. *Theory of Mystery*

In the attitude of mystery toward the girl, we distinguish two main types. In one, the girl is influenced, during this period, by mysterious forces, is surrounded by a peculiar atmosphere, that may affect her entire life. These forces may work the greatest injury, or insure her success for the future. Everything that she does, or is done to her, has a determining effect upon her future condition. The actions of others, even apart from her, may influence the result. In the other type, the girl is the *source* of these mysterious forces, or the medium through which they flow. She is the involuntary, or voluntary cause of danger or well-being to others. The social fact of her condition is the one emphasized. Both kinds of attitude may, of course, occur among the same people, and even in the same ceremony. But each has been given separate expression. A few typical illustrations will be sufficient.

Among the African A-Kamba, "a girl's first menstruation is a very critical period of her life." If this condition appears while she is at work in the fields, she must return home immediately treading on grass, never on a path, for, if a stranger should accidentally "tread on the spot of blood, and then cohabit with a member of the opposite sex, before the girl was better again, it is believed that she would never bear a child." She will also be doomed to perpetual sterility, unless, when her period is over, her mother has ceremonial intercourse with her father. (39: 65.) The Anyanya have a special re-naming ceremony, in order to deceive spirits, who seek to obtain possession, but always call the victims by the childish name. (94: 124-128.) Belief in the necessity of death and resurrection ceremonials to circumvent the baneful influence of spirits at the period of adolescence is widespread in Africa, as Ploss notes. (61. II: 717-718.) Ceremonies of re-birth are common. (15.) Among the A-Kikuyu, however, the ceremony of re-birth is not a puberty-rite, but is undergone by both sexes between the ages of five and eight, and must be accomplished before circumcision. (Routledge, *With a Prehist. People*, Lond., 1910, p. 151.) We must

guard, therefore, against the assertion that all rites of this sort are related to puberty. Acquisition of special deities, or guardian spirits, by girls, at the time of first menstruation, indicates the native belief in the need of peculiar safe-guards at this period. Both the Ashanti and the Cross River tribes of Southern Nigeria believe in this supernatural protection. Partridge, *Cross R. Natives*, Lond., 1905, pp. 169-216.) In general, it seems that the supernatural type of theory appears only sporadically in Africa, the attitude being, for the most part, that this function marks the beginning of a function of training, which is now especially efficacious.

In Asia, the most complete type of supernatural belief is found in the rites of divination practiced in the Cochin district, and among the ancient Hindus. Here, a mysterious affinity is supposed to exist between the girl's destiny and the nature of the first menstruation. An elaborate sort of horoscope is drawn up, on the basis of the roundness, squareness, irregularity, thickness, size, color, etc., of the blood-drops. This is described in great detail by Iyer. (42. 1: 203-207. See also Kisch, *Sexual Life of Woman*, N. Y., 1910.)

Among the American Indians, the culmination of the supernatural attitude is reached, although extreme modes of treatment are not equally common. Some peoples, as do the Delaware Indians, believe that the soul enters the body, or becomes mature, only at puberty. During childhood it is weak and timid, and only later arrives at independence. Belief that the first menstruation is caused by the bite of a snake is reported by Nordenskiöld from the Chiriguano and Mataco Indian of the Gran Chaco (60: 107, 210), and by Koch-Grünberg from some of the tribes of Brazil. 46: 91-100.) Ploss cites similar beliefs from British Guiana, New Guinea, Portugal, certain parts of Germany, etc. (62. 1: 251.) Sometimes it is not a snake, but another reptile, such as the lizard, crocodile, etc. Among the Tupian Chiriguanos of Bolivia, during the girl's seclusion, women beat the walls with sticks in order to drive away "the snake that has wounded her," according to a missionary account cited by Crawley. (14: 10.) The women of the Cariban Macusi Indians fear to go into the forest during menstruation for dread of a snake, who may assume the rôle of lover (62. II: 334.) Certain Australians are said to attribute menstruation to the scratch of

a bandicoot. (*J. Anthr. Inst.*, v. 24, p. 177.) In New Britain, it is traced to the bite of a sacred bird, or other supernatural being. (62. II:330-334.) It is not clear whether the wound has been given through love or malevolence; it inspires feelings of profound mystery, and causes the girl to be treated as half invalid and half shaman.

A rare direct reference to the physiological relation between menstruation and child-bearing occurs with the Yuchi Indians and is touched with the supernatural. The Yuchi attribute their origin to the Sun deity, who was in her period; some blood fell to the ground, she looked, and a small baby was sitting there,—“this was the father of the Indians, who are Yuchi, children of the sun.” Both the girl and the husband are subject to restrictions, must eat on dishes which are subsequently broken, must touch no common property; the girl is secluded in a menstrual hut. In the initiation ceremony of the boys, and an important rite at other times for all males, is scarification until blood falls to the ground. This is symbolical of the Sun-Mother’s blood, from which the first Yuchi was created. (83:96, 106-115.) Here, the supernatural element is clear; taboos follow from this “mystery,” and not from uncleanness of the menstrual function.

The numerous ways in which the two types of supernatural forces may operate will become more apparent in the list of native explanations of “puberty”-customs. A few typical cases may be cited now. Among some of the Prairie tribes of Algonkian stock, girls may be subjected to hard usage during childhood, and at puberty go through ordeals, especially those who will become shamans. A girl, by this usage, becomes a healer, and the bringer of good-fortune to her people; she ensures to women safe-delivery in child-birth. (Owen, in 22. 1:323.) Among the Athapaskan Indians of the South-West, when the girl arrives at puberty, there is an important ceremony, in which the girl and a boy dramatically represent for four nights the culture-hero, and his grandmother. The story of the racial origin is enacted; the girl becomes Yolkaiisdzan, the “holy girl.” This ceremony is performed, “to bring good fortune to the whole community” and to secure for the girl a happy and honorable life. It is by far the most important social event of these tribes. (30:168-171; 31:266-268.)

With the Shasta Indians of California, the adolescent girl is of the utmost significance to the whole people. The Shastan puberty-ceremony for girls is one of the most elaborate in the world:

For ten days the girl is secluded; she wears a blue-jay feather head-dress, so that she cannot see the sun or moon, she must use a scratch-stick, must not let her feet touch the earth, she must not come near a fire, nor see people; she must not hurry, nor get excited; she is subject to numerous food-regulations, she must drink only water that has been warmed and into which a little clay has been stirred. She must sleep very little, and only just before dawn. She must sleep with her head in a basket, or cap, to obviate bad dreams; a small stick is placed across the end to keep off evil spirits, and each day this is burned and renewed. All the time she is in the hut she must sit facing the east, holding a deer-foot rattle in her hand and shaking it from time to time. Toward the end of the strict seclusion, a mitigated seclusion for another ten days begins. Each day the girl goes into the mountains for firewood for the festivities, and for each family in the village; each night there is a dance and feast for all the neighboring villages; the girl must dance constantly; when she is exhausted, she is supported, and, as the nights wear on, she becomes more and more in need of support, through fasting, hard daily work and excitement. On the last night complete license is given to both sexes. Finally, the ceremony culminates in a war-dance, danced by all; the girl and her mother bathe, and are given entirely new clothes. The ten-day ceremony is repeated for the next two periods, during which the entire community is kept at the parents' expense; only at the end is the girl declared marriageable.

In addition to the social stress, the supernatural element is most vividly present:

“Whatever she dreams of during this period she confides to her mother, and all of these dreams are bound to come true. Should she be so unfortunate as to dream of the death of any person in the village, or of a general conflagration, the only way the calamity can be averted is to burn the unfortunate girl alive. . . . This sacrifice has several times been made. The girl is decked with all the finery the family possesses, and made to leap into the center of a huge fire built by members of the family.” (17: 457-461.)

With the Tlingit Indians, the girl had power to influence the luck of a fisher, hunter or gambler, and she could turn objects to stone. She was peculiarly close to the world of spirits; if a near relative had recently died, she fasted for eight days, on reaching puberty, and lived a “quiet life” for eight months thereafter; this would ensure the re-birth of the dead individual in the girl's first child, though her marriage might not take place

for some time. (Swanton, in *26th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, pp. 393-485.)

This belief, that the girl is close to the powers of life and death, is found in other parts of the world as well. In New Caledonia, though there are no puberty-rites, if the chief is ill, when the girl reaches maturity, she is severely beaten, in order to drive evil away from him. (MacCulloch, in *22. II: 229.*)

So, among the Greenland Eskimo, if the girl wishes her child to be small, she wears at puberty a kittiwake-head sewed into her clothes, for this bird lays very small and beautiful eggs. (Lowie, in *19. III: 401.*) A taboo among the Siouan Assiniboine illustrates the native belief in danger to the girl herself of too near an approach to "mystery." For the first four days, the girl is secluded; her clothes are then burned, and her dishes thrown away, but there are no food-restrictions, nor subsequent menstrual seclusion. The one taboo is that she must never go into a house where a "medicine-bundle" is kept; if she violated this, she would continue to menstruate indefinitely. (Lowie, in *Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, N. Y., 1909, p. 39.) Among the Lillooet, Thompson and Shuswap Indians (Salishan) of British Columbia, the conception of the period of puberty as the crucial opportunity for spiritual influences that will determine the course of the girl's life, both personal and racial, reaches a very high and thoroughly human expression. Here, the various aspects of puberty, physical, esthetic, pedagogical, religious and social, receive effective emphasis, without overstrain. With these peoples, both sexes go into training, the lads, when the voice begins to break, remaining from one to eight or ten years; the girls, at the first menstruation, for a period of not less than one year, nor more than four years, "*according to their own inclinations, or the wish of their parents.*" The part played in primitive "puberty"-ceremonies by the volition of the girl herself is usually ignored by writers on this topic, yet, as in this case, it is often the determining factor. One object of training is to secure a *manitou*, or guardian spirit. Twins, however, do not train to acquire *manitous*, as they have them already. (89: 589.)

After the first menstruation, and during the long training, the girl is considered "mystery." She lives in a small lodge, conical in shape, built of fir-branches, and apart from her people. She eats sparingly, fasting for long periods; she sleeps little, usually in the early morning.

While she is in her lodge, she constantly busies herself with the manufacture of small articles, baskets, bags, mats, bead and feather work, and she manufactures twine, and various kinds of leather objects; all these are hung in the trees, near the lodge, or at the crossing of two trails. She goes through the operations of skin-dressing, and plucks fir-needles as fast as possible, in order to make her fingers nimble. Practice of all the arts and industries required of her in future years is believed now to have a peculiarly effective value. At dusk, she wandered about, and spent every night in the mountains, praying, running, leaping, climbing trees, gathering firewood, digging trenches, occasionally lighting signal-fires, practicing carrying heavy burdens, etc. She would climb to the top of great firs and break off the tops, that her son might be strong and skilful. She played with gambling-sticks, so that her future husband might have luck. At day-break, she bathed in running water, washing herself with fir-branches, and praying to the Dawn. She had to be back in her lodge before it was light; if caught too far to return, she screened herself with fir-branches, for only her attendant was supposed to see her face during her training. During this period, she wore a large robe painted red on breasts and sides; among some tribes, her face and body were painted also. She wore her hair in a knot, with a willow head-band, instead of the buckskin band, for deer would be displeased, and, in future years give her head-ache. She used a scratch-stick, drinking-tube, and wooden comb, as did the adolescent boys and warriors. Girls "placed little heaps of dry fir-needles on their wrists and arms, to which they set fire, meanwhile praying that they might be enabled to withstand pain of all kinds, but especially that of child-birth. (89: 588.) Usually they thus scarred both wrists and both forearms. At night, she sometimes ran with heavy stones held close to her body, and, as she dropped them, prayed for safe-delivery in child-birth. During the middle, or toward the end of their training-period, girls made pictures with paint, or engraved them on the rocks. These were mostly of objects seen in their dreams, and the painting was supposed to hasten the attainment of the "manitou," or other desires. Among the Shuswap, boys made these pictures as well as girls. With this people: "Both boys and girls gathered lice, which they enclosed in a horse-tail reed and set adrift on a stream, at the same time praying to the Day Dawn that, in after years, they might have no lice. This was done on four consecutive mornings." (89: 590.) And here also: "Both boys and girls were carefully watched from childhood, and not allowed to smoke or have sexual connection until after their periods of training." Usually the girls did not marry until from one to three years afterward. In cases where either sex decided to take up the rôle of the other, this assumption came at the end of the training-period, before the individual resumed the normal routine of life. In this case there was no marriage, the girl returning in man's dress, and *vice versa* (pp. 265-267).

From the details of this training, cited at some length, although much has been omitted, it is apparent how erroneous

are the conclusions of those who emphasize any one aspect only of the conception of puberty found among savages. The complexity is great, ranging from the most common-place facts of daily life to the mysteries of religion. Sex does not dominate here completely, as so often asserted. The human element is supreme. The same belief in the magic power of youth guides the hand that pushes forth the vermin-laden craft and the hand that seeks to express in art, as did the ancient cave-dwellers, the dream and longings of the human spirit.

IV. VARIATION IN DEGREES OF ATTENTION PAID TO PUBERTY OF GIRLS

A. *Absence, or Seeming Absence, of "Puberty"-Ceremonies*

The following peoples, apparently, have no "puberty"-ceremonies for girls (where the authorities consulted are in doubt, this is indicated by (?), and that the occurrence of such ceremonies is not mentioned is indicated by (x)).

1. AFRICA: *Ababdes* (nose-ring is given, if betrothed), *Anyasa* of E. Central Africa, *Bantu* (some in S. Africa, though usually having maximum amount), *Bechuanas* (a few), *Endo-speaking tribes* (no notice, unless married), *Ewe-speaking tribes* (some), *Kafirs* (rites formerly extreme, now being abandoned), *Kilimandjaro district* (some), *Madagascar* (rites now falling into disuse with some tribes), *Suk* (those living near Turkana give up circumcision, mutilation, etc., so that, in time of war, they may not be conspicuous; *Tshi-speaking* (some x)).

2. ASIA: *Ahoms* (Thai Shans; no notice of poor girls; those of priestly clan, Deodhai, tattooed with star), *Annamese*, *Cochin tribes and castes* (Chedans, before puberty cannot eat meat or touch food in husband's house; Nambuthiris, no rites or seclusion; Nattu, marriage must take place before; Panans; Pulayans of Thanda; Syrians; Velans, very poor dispense with rites,—in the Cochin area every variety of attitude toward puberty occurs, from complete ignoring to extreme ritual and seclusion), *Kadars* (tooth-chipping performed from age of ten to puberty), *Khasis*, *Lolos* of Kientchang (absolute freedom), *Lushei-Kuki clans* (Tibeto-Burman), *Pagan races of Malay Peninsula* (in general), *Tangkhuks*, *Todas*, *Veddas* (Forest and Rock).

3. INDONESIA, AUSTRALIA, POLYNESIA: *Australian Narringeri* (x), *Australian South-East tribes* (mutilate the little finger, but no relation to puberty, x), *Bontoc Igorot*, *Ceram Laut*, *Easter I.*, *Eastern Is. of Torres Sts.*, *Fijians*, *Kalabits* (x), *Kayans*, *Koita*, *Marshall Is.* (rites only for chief's daughter), *Massim*, *Melanesians* (some), *Muruts*, *New Britain* (none for very poor, extreme in case of rich), *New Caledonia* (x), *New Guinea* (some), *Philippine Is.* (some), *Roro-speaking tribes*, *Samoa* (com-

plete freedom), *Subanuns*, *Tasmanians*, *Tubetube*, *Wagawaga* (x), *Waima*, *Wamira*, *Yule I.*

4. NORTH AMERICA: *Blackfoot*, *Chumash* (?), *Costanoan* (?), *Cree* (Eastern; x), *Crow* (marriage usually before puberty; if not, on first appearance of puberty, girl is "joked"), *Eskimo* (no rites, and, in general, little attention; *Baffin Land*, *Central Eskimo*, *Greenland*, *Ungava*), *Huichol* (Mexico), *Miwok*, *Navaho* (some) *Patwin* (x), *Salinan* (?), *Sia*, *Tarahumares* (Mexico), *Yokuts* (?), *Zuñi*.

5. SOUTH AMERICA: *Chorotis* (of *Gran Chaco*), *Karajá*, *Quechuas* (of *Potosi*, etc.), *Rio Pilcomayo tribes* (some).

B. Minimum Degree of Attention

Peoples paying a minimum degree of attention to puberty of girls:

1. AFRICA: *Anyanja* (re-naming; festivity lasts one day), *Ashanti* (girls acquire fetish, or guardian-spirit, who cares for them until married; they drag it from the bush, and make offerings of milk on reaching puberty, but without special ceremony), *Baganda* (great variation; some have feast merely), *Bantu* (great variation; some have limited seclusion, feasts, etc.), *Bechuanas* (some, only limited seclusion), *Endo-speaking tribes* (seclusion, if married), *Ewe-speaking tribes* (some, seclusion during menstruation, instruction), *Mpongwe* (initiation into *Njembe* society, a primitive "woman's rights organization," may take place at puberty, or before, 63. II: 243-245); initiation varies from a few hours, etc., to several weeks), *Tshi-speaking tribes* (some tribes celebrate with songs, offerings, and washing-ceremony), *Wambuga* of German W. Africa (fire-tests of chastity).

2. ASIA: *Burmese* (teeth blackened; ears must be bored), *Chamars* (tattooing), *Cochin tribes and castes* (*Pulayans*, "leaf marriage" ceremony to *Thanda* plant; southern *Taluks*, limited seclusion, feast; *Variyars*, three-day seclusion feast, offering), *Mikir tribes of Bhoi* (tattoo, change of mode of dress), *Naga tribes* (tattoo, food-taboos; while operation is going on, girl lives in another village, away from home), *Nicobar Is.* (teeth blackened, dilatation of ear-lobe), *Orang-Laut* (no ceremonies, but occasional limited seclusion, shaving, scarification, tooth-filing, etc., not necessarily connected with puberty), *Siamese* (head is shaved).

3. INDONESIA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA: *New Britain* (girls of "middle class are secluded for a few days only; range here from no ceremony, through intermediate stages, to maximum seclusion of ten years), *New Caledonia* (no rites; but, if chief is ill, when girl reaches puberty, she is severely beaten), *New Guinea (some) tribes* (no rites, but scars cut on girl's chest, when her brother spears his first dugong), *Philippine Is.* (some), *Wamira* (no notice of puberty now; formerly taboos and seclusion).

4. NORTH AMERICA: *Hopi* of Athapascan stock (marriage usually coincides; girl works hard four days at home of her mother-in-law; has new hair-arrangement), *Klamath* (girls compose puberty-songs as acts of courtship), *Lillooet* of Salishan stock (formerly elaborate ceremonies, now passing into disuse), *Lkūngen* of Salishan stock (food-taboos offerings), *Maidu* of California (no ceremony if girl is married before puberty), *Navaho* (some; no seclusion, but girls may undergo admission to secret society), *Nootka* (special costume and decoration; girls may take part in Wolf ritual, but not necessarily at puberty), *Tahltan* of Athapascan stock (ceremony, not now strictly observed), *Yuchi* (menstrual-seclusion), *Zuñi* (no ceremony but girl works hard on day of first menstruation), *Eskimo* (Bering Sts. Unalit, girl rests four days in family hut,—formerly there existed a forty-day seclusion, belief in magic, taboos, etc., as with the neighboring Malemut; Central Eskimo, tattooing at age of twelve; Hudson Bay Eskimo, tattooing, four days' operation away from camp, and, when girl returns, "it is known that she has begun to menstruate"; in general, only those Eskimo who have come into contact with the Indians, particularly the Athapascan tribes, pay attention to the phenomena of puberty, though limited seclusion during menstruation and child-birth is frequent).

5. SOUTH AMERICA: *Ashluslays* of Gran Chaco (no seclusion or idea of impurity; dance is held for all the tribe), *Gran Chaco tribes* (some; feast, decoration, dance), *Karajá* (no rites, face is painted), *Tehuelches* (dance, feast), *Uaupés tribes* (some; feast, decoration, food-taboos).

C. Intermediate Degree of Attention

The following peoples may be said to pay an intermediate degree of attention to the puberty of girls.

1. AFRICA: *Anyanja* of L. Nyasa (festivity of several days, decoration, instruction; 94: 126-127), *Bafote* (isolation, fire-ordeal; 61. II: 717), *Baganda* (some; seclusion, scarification, instruction; 66: 79-81), *Bawenda* (physical training, etc., Tondo school; *The Bawenda of S. Africa*, Lond., 1908, pp. 61-62), *Egyptian* (infibulation; Lane. *Mod. Egypt.*, p. 71), *Gola-Mendi* (seclusion in hut, ceremony; 61. II: 717-718), *Hottentots* (fire-ordeal, formerly, extreme,—circumcision); 61. II: 717-718; Theal, *Hist. and Ethnogr. S. Africa*, Lond., 1907, 1: 49, 112-117), *Tshi-speaking tribes* of Gold Coast (some; songs, washings, offerings, etc.; Ellis, *Tshi-speak. Peop.*, Lond., 1887), *Togo-land tribes* (some, Ewe-speaking; seclusion, sacrificial offerings; girl carefully educated in arts, crafts and agriculture by mother; Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 210, 454, 896), *Zulus* (seclusion, intermediate; special hut; she is attended by 12 or 14 girls, who guard her; "no married man may come near the dwelling, and, should any one do so, he is beaten away by the girls, who attack him violently with sticks and stones; during her seclusion, the neophyte must on no account see or address any man, married or unmarried";

girls who attend her are free to have intercourse at end of the girl's first menstruation; at end of seclusion, girl bathes, and undergoes perforation of the hymen by two old women; she is then considered a woman; Macdonald, in *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. 20, pp. 117-118).

2. ASIA: *Andamanese* (flower-names are given, according to season in which puberty is attained; 51: 60-67, 91), *Cambodians* (poor girls secluded a few days, taboos, hair-cutting; Cabaton, in 22. III: 163), *Chams* (sere-monial, three-months' seclusion; Cabaton, *Ibid.*, 345), *Chinese* (seclusion begins at puberty; girl then called "she who sits in the house), *Cochin tribes and castes*: Devangas (some; 15 days' seclusion, demons warned off; 42. II: 372), Eravallens (limited seclusion, taboo of seeing adult; *Ibid.*, 45), Izhuvans (a fishing caste; seclusion, feast ceremonial; 42. I: 283-284), Nayars (high-caste Sudras; 4 days' seclusion; also maximum in *thirandukuli* ceremony; 42. II: 22-29), Pulayans (those near Cochin only; 7 days' seclusion, magic, exorcism, etc.; 42. I: 98-99), Pulluvans (Izhuvans; 7 days' seclusion, religious rites; *Ibid.*, 146), Volans (4 days' seclusion, no rites; formerly maximum, with rite of *theralikka*, "causing puberty", now abandoned; *Ibid.*, 235-236), *Persia* (both sides of Persian Gulf; infibulation may be performed during childhood; Niebuhr, p. 70), *Sinhalese* (menstrual seclusion, some restrictions, no rites? 77: 94), *Veddas* (Uniche; menstrual seclusion borrowed from Sinhalese, breaking of pot or dish placed on girl's head by female relative; 77: 94; Sarasin, 72: 457-561, mentions none), *Veddas* (Village; menstrual seclusion, borrowed; 77: 94).

3. INDONESIA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA: *Australian*: Otati, E. of Cape York Peninsula (seclusion for first period, burying in sand, painting; 75: 206), Uiyumkwi of Red I., N. Queensland (same as for Otati; 75: 205), Wakelbua of the South-East (short seclusion, totem worn to warn men of her condition; 41: 776-777), Yaraikanna (northern; seclusion, taboos, restrictions, etc.; 75: 205); *Muralug* of Torres Sts. (two months' seclusion, ceremonial, food and sea taboo; 75: 204-207.—"probably shows Australian characteristics," p. 205), *Saibai* of Torres Sts. (two weeks' seclusion, change of name, food-taboo; 75: 205-207, 34: 215), *Wamira* (formerly seclusion, taboos, etc., but all rites now abandoned; 75: 258-259).

4. NORTH AMERICA: *Algonkian Prairie tribes* (some; fasts, tests of endurance, seclusion for short period; Owen, in 22. I: 323), *Assiniboine* of Siouan stock (four days' seclusion only at puberty, gifts distributed, no use of scratch-stick, etc., as neighboring tribes do; Lowie, in *Anthropol. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 19, p. 39), *Cheyenne* of Algonkian stock (four days' seclusion, purification, "smoking," hardening; 88. II: 314,—see also writings of G. B. Grinnell), *Creeks* of Muskhogean stock (seclusion, probable use of scratch-stick, drinking-reed, etc.; 7: 491), *Foxes* of Algonkian stock (religious and social, dances, painting; Owen, in 19. I: 323), *Haida* of Skittagetan stock (seclusion, also maximum in physical tests and hardening; 88: 314), *Hupas* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion,

taboos, scratch-stick, ceremonial bathing; 32), *Iroquois* (seclusion, taboos; 88: 314), *Kickapoos* of Algonkian stock (religious dancing, painting, social; Owen, in 22. 1: 323), *Maidu* of Northeast (seclusion during day only, taboos; 18: 236), *Maidu* of Sacramento Valley (ten days' limited seclusion, food-restrictions, purification; also a maximum with social, religious and esthetic aspects; 18: 232-239), *Omaha* of Siouan stock (rite open to girls, but not obligatory as with boys; also religious and social maximum with rite of Mozhizho, "Mark of Honor" ceremony in special cases; 25: 129), *Pawnee* of Caddoan stock (short seclusion, purification; reaches also maximum in feast and special honor paid to girl; 23: 26, also Grinnell, in *Amer. Anthropol.*, N. S., v. 4, p. 281), *Pima* of Shoshonean stock (menstrual seclusion, taboo, use of scratch-stick, drinking-reed, etc.; 69: 162, 188, 204), *Salishan tribes in general* (seclusion of ten days to one month, fast, taboos; *J. Anthr. Inst.*, 1905, p. 319), *Saulteaux* of Algonkian stock (seclusion during first menstruation, no food given; Skinner, in *Anthrop. Pap. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 1911, p. 152), *Seri* (tooth-evulsion and tattooing or painting hereditary designs, feast; among these Indians there are no rites, but erection of separate hut,—here a maximum of complete freedom is also reached, with the most exalted social status given to girl at puberty of any people studied; 56: 11), *Shasta* (limited seclusion of ten days, food-taboos; also reaching a maximum of ceremonial and social observance, etc.; 17: 455-471), *Shoshone* (northern; seclusion, taboos, but sight of girl causes death; 50: 214, 239), *Shuswap* of Salishan stock (limited seclusion, restrictions; but reaching also a maximum of pedagogic social, and religious observance; 89: 587-592), *Sta. Barbara* (seclusion, scratch-stick of abalone-shell), *Tahltan* of Athapaskan stock (restriction and seclusion less in case girl is not daughter of rich man or chief; Emmons, in *Univ. of Penn. Anthropol. Publ.*, 1911, p. 105), *Takelma* (few restrictions, limited seclusion, but puberty-dance is most important festival; 71: 237), *Thompson Indians* of Salishan stock (limited seclusions, restrictions, but reaching a pedagogical, etc. maximum similar to that of the Shuswap; 6: 227-230), *Wintun* of Copehan stock (limited seclusion, three days fast, but puberty-dance as great social event; 64: 235-236), *Yuchi* (menstrual seclusion, but reaches maximum of religious, social, ceremonial and traditional belief; 83: 96, 106-115), *Zuñi* (no attention paid to menstruation, but maximum of initiation into Kotikila fraternity may occur; 86: 93, 103, 294, 303), *Eskimo peoples*: Aleuts (seclusion in *barrabarra* for seven days, no one visits her but her slave, men tabooed; Chamberlain, in 22. 1: 303; see also 20: 88, 88: 314-315).

5. SOUTH AMERICA: *Arawaks* (many tribes; seclusion, food-taboos, hardening, etc.; 61. 11: 717), *Caribs* (many tribes; seclusion, also reaching maximum of hardening, mutilation, etc.; *Ibid.*, p. 428), *Chané* (Arawakan tribe of Gran Chaco; seclusion in chest, or behind partition in family house; 60: 210), *Chiriguano* (Tupian tribe of Bolivia; hair cut short, dieting between first and second menstruation, seclusion; *Ibid.*), *Coroados* (seclusion, food-taboos; 61. 11: 717), *Mataco* of Gran Chaco (seclusion, etc., attribution of menstruation to bite of snake; 60: 107).

D. *Maximum Degree of Attention*

Peoples who pay, in one way or another, a maximum degree of attention to the puberty of girls are the following:

1. AFRICA: *Abyssinians* (physical; infibulation, circumcision, seclusion; Littmann, in 19. 1: 58), *A-Kamba* (physical and social; circumcision, tooth knocking and filing; 39: 18-71), *Akkra* (physical and ceremonial; circumcision; 22. III: 667), *A-Kikuyn* of British East Africa (ceremonial, social and physical; circumcision; Routledge, *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-161), *Bamangwato* (physical and ceremonial; circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 669), *Bambuk* (physical and social, entrance to secret society; 63. 1: 246), *Bantu* (some tribes; physical, circumcision, sex-emphasis; Theal, *Op. cit.*, v. 1, pp. 112-116), *Basuto* (religious and esthetic; illustration; 57: 101-103; see also MacCulloch, in 22. II), *Bechuanas* (some tribes; physical; ordeals; circumcision, beating, seclusion; 61. II: 220-235; see also Joyce, in *Encyclop. Britannica*, 1911, v. 4, p. 604), *Bondei* (physical, social and pedagogical; circumcision, fire-ordeals, hardening; satire and reviling; Vihili secrets taught; Dale, in *J. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. 25, pp. 188-193), *Cross River natives* of Oburu district in Southern Nigeria (physical; circumcision, tooth-evulsion, fattening; girls at puberty have special guardian deity; Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, Lond., 1905, pp. 169-216), *Galla peoples* (physical; infibulation, circumcision; 87: 523), *Kafirs* of Pondo Land and interior (physical; circumcision, fire-ordeal, strength-tests, sex-emphasis; Kidd, *Essent. Kafir*, Lond., 1904, pp. 26-210), *Kordofan* (some tribes; infibulation, circumcision; 61. 1: 379; 87: 523), *Loango* (some tribes; circumcision, festivity; 61. II: 220-235), *Mandingos* of Sierra Leone (seclusion one month and one day, social and religious instruction, nakedness; 62: 292), *Masai* (physical; circumcision, seclusion, scarring with acid, instruction; Hollis, *The Masai*, Lond., 1905, pp. 261-299; Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 60), *Mendi* (ceremonial, religious, etc.; "resurrection"; 61. II: 718), *Nandi* (physical and social, circumcision, ceremonial; Hollis, *The Nandi*, Lond., 1909, pp. 57-82), *Nubia* (some tribes; circumcision and infibulation; 61. 11: 548), *Old Calabar* (circumcision; *Ibid.*, pp. 220-235), *Peuhls* (circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Shekani tribes* of W. Africa (physical and social; fasting, swooning, ordeals, initiation to Mwetyi society; Nassau, *Fetishism in W. Africa*, Lond., 1904, p. 249), *Simali* (some tribes; circumcision and infibulation; 87: 523), *Suk* (circumcision, dance; ceremonial and religious; Beech, *The Suk*, Oxford, 1911, pp. 20-24), *Vai tribes* of Liberia (limited seclusion; long period of instruction in arts, crafts, industries, esthetics, religion, sex, etc., in the "greegree bush"; 9. II: 308-314), *Yaos* (Bantu people; social, ceremonial, pedagogical; seclusion one month, sex-instruction; 94: 126-127).

2. ASIA: *Cambodians* (rich girls secluded for years, taboos, hair-cutting; Cabaton, in 22. III: 163), *Cochin tribes and castes*: Hindus (magic and religious; astrology; divination of girl's future from nature of menstrual blood-drops; 42. 1: 205-206), Jews ("White", "Black" and "Brown"

Jews; seven days' seclusion with ritual, etc.; gifts; marriage before and after puberty; 42. II: 408), Kadupattans (seclusion; ceremonial, demons feared; *Ibid.*, p. 106), Kakkalans (palmists, vagrant mat-makers; seven to eleven days' seclusion, special food, exorcism; *Ibid.*, pp. 381-382), Kammalans (fifteen days' seclusion; ceremonial, 42. I: 344-345), Nayars (high-class Sudras; Thirandukuli ceremony; 42. II: 22-29), Oddens (earth-workers; fifteen days' seclusion, for taboos, magic, etc., *Ibid.*, p. 391), Otans (potters; fifteen days' seclusion, caste-feast; *Ibid.*, p. 395), Tamils (Brahmans; seclusion, procession, religious festival; *Ibid.*, p. 291); *Kamchatkans* (circumcision; religious rites; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Koreans* (capping ceremony, presentation to ancestors, re-naming; social, religious, pedagogic; 49: 525-531), *Peguans* (infibulation, sporadic circumcision; 87: 548).

3. INDONESIA, AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA: *Australian peoples*: Arunta (physical; mutilation, sex-emphasis, rite of *Atna-Ariltha*, etc.; 85: 92-94), Central tribes in general (physical; circumcision, *Atna-Ariltha*, mutilation, etc., report given to piercing or cutting the ovary; *Ibid.*, p. 457, 458, 462, 473; 62. I: 178), Ilirna (same rites as Arunta; 85: 92-94), Queensland tribes (physical and ceremonial; four stages of initiation, similar to Central tribes; Roth, *Ethnol. Stud.*, Lond., 1897), Tribes from Urabanna in south through the continent to western shores of Gulf of Carpentaria (physical; circumcision, seclusion, and, in some districts, intocision; Gray, in 19. III: 667); *Malays* of Alfurese Archipelago (circumcision; *Ibid.*), *New Britain* (girls of rich undergo "Tabu siga" caging ceremony, seclusion of from two to ten years; taboos of touching earth, seeing sun, etc.; 16: 285), *Yam and Tutu Is.* of Torres Sts. (physical; pain, hardening, beating; seclusion; decoration; origin of menstruation attributed to embrace of moon; 75: 204-207).

4. NORTH AMERICA: *Ahts* (seclusion, fasts, taboos of sun and fire; Sproat, *Scenes and Stud. of Sav. Life*, Lond., 1866, p. 93), *Algonkian Prairie tribes* (some; girls who are to become shamans are subjected to severe treatment; four series of "religious" dances; red spots painted on girl's face by father; Owen, in 19. I: 323), *Apache* (nomadic tribe of Athapaskan stock in S. W.; social, religious and dramatic; Jicari Ila ceremony represents race-origin; parts of culture-heroes played by boy and girl; 30: 166-171), *Carriers* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion, ceremonial impurity, gifts, etc.; Morice, *Op. cit.*), *Déné or Athapaskans* (some tribes; seclusion of one to three years, fasting, taboos, magic; Morice, *Op. cit.*), *Diegueños* (Mission Indians of California; social and religious; "roasting" ceremony; 68: 29), *Haida* (physical; hardening; 88: 314), *Lillooet* (Salishan Indians of B. C.; social, pedagogical, religious; long period of training and purification; 89: 262-267), *Luiseno* of Shoshonean stock (social, religious and esthetic; ceremonial; "roasting" ceremony; 48: 31-32), *Maidu* of Foothill district (seclusion, limited; social and esthetic emphasis; 18: 235), *Maidu* of northeast district (social and esthetic; sex-emphasis, license given to participants in ceremonies; *Ibid.*), *Mission tribes* (some; social and religious; "roasting" ceremony; 68:

28-32), *Navaho* of Athapaskan stock (may observe dramatic ceremony of Apache; girl is called "holy girl" and personifies Yolkaisdzan; Matthews, in *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, 1902, vol. 6, pp. 116-120), *Oglala Dakota* of Siouan stock (religious and social; festival of White Buffalo Skin; chief's food; 24: 583), *Omaha* of Siouan stock (religious and social; rite of Mozhizho, "Mark of Honor" ceremony in special cases; 25: 129), *Pawnee* of Caddoan stock (feast, special honor paid to girl; 23: 26), *Potawatomi* of Algonkian stock (religious, magic; hardening; dances, painting; especially severe for girls admitted as shamans; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Salinan tribes* of California (some; social, magical, ceremonial; Mason, in *Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. and Ethnol.*, 1912, vol. 10, p. 161), *Sauk* of Algonkian stock (religious and magic, etc., if preparing to be shamans; Owen, in 19. 1: 323), *Seri* (most exalted social status given to girl at puberty of any people studied; 56: 11), *Shasta* (ceremonial, social, magic; extreme power, etc., attributed to dreams of girls; girl is put to death by fire, if she dreams of certain disasters; 17: 455-461), *Shoshone* (northern tribes; sight of girl will cause death; 50: 214, 239), *Shuswap* of Salishan stock (pedagogic, social, religious; length of training partly depends on desire of girl,—two to four years; 89: 587-592), *South-West tribes in general* (social, esthetic, religious, dramatic; 30), *Tahltan* (seclusion six months to one year; scratch-stick; restrictions, etc.; Emmons, *Op. cit.*), *Takelma* (puberty-dance most important festival; 71: 237), *Thompson Indians* of Salishan stock (pedagogical, etc., similar to Shuswap; rock-drawings; 6: 227-230), *Tlingit* (fast, restrictions, especially if relative has recently died; Boas, Swanton), *Tsetsaut* of Athapaskan stock (seclusion for two years, taboos; magical, etc.; Boas), *Vuntakutchin* of Athapaskan stock (pedagogical, social; seclusion, after feast, in care of relative of betrothed, about a mile from home, for a year; puberty-feast as great social event; 38. II: 884), *Wintun* (puberty-dance as great social event; 64: 235-236), *Yuchi* (religious, social, ceremonial; belief in origin of race from menstrual blood; 83: 106-115), *Zuñi* (girl may enter Kotikila fraternity, and in this case the whipping, etc., of initiation is as severe as for boys; 86: 93, 103, 294, 303), *Eskimo peoples*: Malemut of Bering Sts. (forty days seclusion, taboos; magic; social; 59: 291-292).

5. SOUTH AMERICA: *Banivas* of Venezuela (Arawakan people; ceremonial, physical; heroic treatment, etc.; coincides with marriage-rite; Dalton, *Venezuela*, N. Y., 1912, pp. 119-134), *Caribs* (some tribes; hardening, mutilation; 61. II: 428), *Chunco* (circumcision; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Goajiros* of Arawakan stock, seclusion for from two to five months; 61. 11: 752), *Guiana Indians* (some tribes; seclusion in hammock for one month; girl's naked body exposed to bites of venomous ants; Labat, *Voy. en Guinée*, Amsterdam, 1731, v. 4, p. 365), *Içána tribes* of N. W. Brazil (some; hair cut short, body painted blue by mother; four weeks' seclusion and dieting; father sings daily at sunrise to girl, enumerating kinds of food tabooed and later permitted; feast; 46: 91-100), *Onas* of Tierra del Fuego (social; two years' training in endurance, and skill in

industries; Furlong, inform'n, 1913), *Quechuas* (circumcision; ceremonial, seclusion; milk; 61. II: 438), *Uaupés tribes* (some; seclusion, etc., similar to Içána; formerly severe treatment, sometimes causing death,—beating, etc., 46: 91), *Ucayali tribes* of N. E. Peru (some; circumcision; ceremonial; Gray, in 22. III: 667), *Yahgans* of Tierra del Fuego (pedagogical, etc.; long period of training in industry, etc.; Furlong, inform'n, 1913).

V. SOME CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF "PUBERTY"-CEREMONIES

In the table following have been listed some 300 or more items figuring in "puberty"-ceremonies from all over the globe. Items common to both adolescent boys and girls are marked *a*; those common to other social groups, warriors, priests, mourners, pregnant women, husbands of secluded women, fathers, etc., are marked *b*.

A. Table of Elements of "Puberty"-Ceremonies

<i>b</i> Agriculture (ceremonial performance of sowing, hoeing, reaping, etc.; dances and songs related to agriculture)	<i>ab</i> Blood-letting
<i>ab</i> Animals (wearing of claws, hoofs, horns, teeth, tails, skins, etc.)	<i>b</i> Blood-sprinkling (blood of fowl sprinkled on charms, gifts, religious offerings, etc.)
<i>ab</i> Anointing (with cocoanut-milk, fat, beer, honey, milk, animal and vegetable oil, wine, "medicine")	<i>ab</i> Blood (as possessing magical or polluting qualities)
<i>b</i> Astrology (prediction of girl's career from time and manner of first appearance of puberty, etc.)	<i>ab</i> Blood (prohibition of girl seeing blood during rite or seclusion)
<i>a</i> Bag (large knit bag given as badge of maturity and ability to work, carry burdens, etc.)	<i>ab</i> Branding
<i>ab</i> Bathing	<i>b</i> Breaking of dish or pot
<i>ab</i> Beating (with clubs, rods, etc., occasionally causing death; sticks, stinging plants, thorns, thongs, etc.)	Bride (girl considered as, because of first menstruation)
<i>ab</i> Binding (with cords, strings, fibers, sinews, cobwebs, etc.)	<i>b</i> Buffalo-robe (ceremonial seating or stepping on)
<i>a</i> Blindfolding	<i>a</i> Burying (in earth, sand, etc.)
Blood (divination of future career of girl from form, size, and color of first menstrual blood)	Burying (first menstrual blood buried in ground,—analogous to customs of child-birth)
<i>ab</i> Blood-drinking	<i>b</i> Candles (lighted to drive off demons; as offerings to gods)
	<i>ab</i> Cannibalism
	<i>a</i> Capping
	<i>ab</i> Charms and amulets
	<i>b</i> Child (young child carried in procession)
	<i>ab</i> Children (prohibition of secluded girl having children of either sex near her, or of seeing them)

- ab**Cicatrization
- ab**Circumcision
- b*Citizenship (admission to full rights of)
- ab**Clay (as head or body covering)
- b*Clay (must be mixed with all water drunk by girl)
- ab**Clothes (burned, changed; provision of new clothes; washing, etc.)
- b*Clouds (symbol worn,—cotton, feathers, fluff, etc.)
- ab**Club-house (entrance into)
- ab**Consecration
- ab**Cooking (performed as ceremonial operation, or specially for pubescent girls; secluded or separated from general cooking)
- ab**Cords (as charms or decorations; as "medicine"; as sign of maturity)
- b*Crowning
- ab**Cutting (cutting body and face; gashing with knives, shells, stones, teeth, etc.)
- ab**Dancing (in groups; instruction in dancing; masks worn; sexes apart; sexes together; solo dances by girl; sex-instruction by means of dance)
- ab**Death (accidental; putting girl to death because of dreams; illness of chief; misfortune, sacrifice, vow-fulfilment)
- ab**Decoration (of body, clothes, face, house, implements, etc., in greatest variety)
- ab**Decoration (use of animal-skins, etc.; beads, shells, etc.; cutting; feathers; fling; floor fringes; painting; piercing; use of plant-juices for burning permanent marks on body and face; staining, tattooing, etc.)
- ab**Demons (driven out by blowing drums, exhortation, exorcism, fanning, flute, juggling, magic, nailing, offerings, prayers, purification, waving, etc.)
- ab**Depilation
- Disgrace (incurred by failure to marry or to undergo sex-initiation before puberty)
- ab**Dishes (broken, ceremonially washed, provision of new set, special set used, thrown away, etc.)
- ab**Dramatic art (death and resurrection presented; folk-lore presented; origin-legend; pageants and processions)
- ab**Drawing (rock and sand drawings, and paintings of dreams, *manitous*, offerings, rites, visions, etc.)
- Dreams (all of girl's dreams regarded as coming true; dreams guarded against, recorded, prohibited, punished, etc.)
- ab**Dress changed (mode of, temporarily, permanently)
- Dressing (child dressed as girl in puberty-ceremony)
- a*Dressing (those in puberty-ceremony dressed in garments of opposite sex, warriors, etc.; bells, ornaments, robes, implements, weapons, etc.)
- ab**Drinking-reed
- ab**Ear cutting, decoration, etc. (lobes cut, bored, dilated, distended; plugs, cylinders, rings, etc., inserted,—of all sorts of material; pierced, slit, etc.)
- b*East (girl must sit facing E. during seclusion; ornaments, head-dress, etc., when removed, thrown toward E.)
- ab**Exhortations (to chastity, courage, generosity, industry, virtue, etc.)
- Expulsion (of girl by women of tribe from settlement, if she

- winces or shows cowardice during ordeals, etc.)
- ab*Face (anointed, blackened, cut, decorated, hidden, painted, etc.)
- ab*Fasting (limited; for long periods)
- b*Fattening
- ab*Feasting
- ab*Feathers (body covered with fat, oil, etc., and feathers applied as decorations, symbols; stepping in feathers, etc.)
- Feet (covered with mocassins; taboo of touching ground)
- ab*Fire (signal-fires lighted by girl and mother to announce puberty; special fire for girl in seclusion, lighted by mother, clan brothers, sisters, etc.; standing in burning circle; fire-ordeals)
- Firewood (ceremonial gathering of by girl for use in evening dance, festivities, etc.; small quantity gathered by her for every house in village; use in tests of strength)
- ab*Food (special articles provided; best food, "chief's food"; sweet-meats; removal of child-food taboo)
- ab*Food (filth-eating)
- ab*Food-prohibitions (all specially-liked articles; all usual articles, or those observed to have disagreed with girl during childhood; fruit, meat and fish; joints only, eaten when large animals are served; quantity limited; time of eating regulated)
- b*Food-song (all different food-products gathered and prepared by women enumerated in puberty-ceremony; father sings daily at sunrise to secluded girl, enumerating kinds of food tabooed and afterward permitted)
- ab*Food-taboo (animal food; birds, girls permitted only the young nestlings, etc.; certain parts tabooed,—feet, head, uterus, etc.; eggs, fish, meat, salt, etc., milk)
- b*Food-taboo (touching or eating the common staple food; hunting or touching the first animal of season, first salmon, bear, deer, turtle, etc.; first vegetables, etc.)
- ab*Gambling
- ab*Gift-giving (to candidates for initiation; to guests; to poor and aged; to spectators; to tutors and attendants of girl during seclusion; special emblems given as sign of maturity, etc.)
- b*Gift-giving to those of opposite sex (girls present boys with beads, clothes, foods, ornaments, etc.)
- Girl not yet arrived at puberty (as aid, caretaker, and participant in ceremonies of girl undergoing the rite)
- Girls of same age, or older (as companions, guardians, etc.; are put through same rites as pubescent girl)
- ab*Gods (acquisition of special deity to care for unmarried girls at puberty; brought from bush at puberty; returned, when married; prayer, sacrifice to)
- ab*Grass (as decoration, magic, symbol of fertility, etc.; sweet-grass burned as purification)
- ab*Guardian spirits (acquisition of)
- b*Guest-privilege (guests may ask for anything parents own, and they must give it during puberty-ceremony)

- ab*Hair (burning, coloring, cutting, distribution of, among guests; new arrangement of; permitting to grow long; shaving, etc.)
- ab*Head (concealed; conceived as sacred, covered during seclusion, etc.)
- b*Head-biting
- ab*Head-taboo (taboo of touching head with hand)
- b*Holiday given (from few days up to three months)
- b*House (erection of separate house for girl, without seclusion)
- ab*House (seclusion in special)
House-symbol (roof, or skeleton-model of house put over heads of group of girls, who have to carry it about)
- b*Infibulation
- b*Initiated girl (as companion of and guardian of girl, undergoing ceremony)
- ab*Initiation (into fraternities, sacred orders, secret societies, etc.)
- b*Instruction (in esthetics, arts and crafts, domestic duties, hygiene, religion, social relations, tribal customs, etc.)
- a*Instruction in sex
- ab*Intoxicants (prohibited; used for first time)
- Introcision
- a*Joking
- b*Juggling (amusement provided for guests at puberty-ceremony; magical act, performed by woman expert)
- ab*Kneeling
- ab*Knots (as decorations; as magical, or symbolic)
- ab*Labrets
- a*Language (proficiency required in use of special language, etc.)
- a*Leaf-gathering
- Leaf-marriage (girl dressed in leaf-garment, ceremonially conceived as married)
- Leaving home (girl sets out for mountains or bush, and is overtaken by mother or relatives; seclusion away from home)
- License (given to all who dance or take part in puberty-ceremonies for various sorts of indulgence)
- a*Lies (prohibited; belief that acquisition of habit will persist throughout maturity)
- ab*Lips (boring; extension; slitting, etc., insertion of objects in, etc.)
- ab*Lustration
- ab*Marriage
- ab*Masks (worn during seclusion)
- ab*Milk (poured on body, head, etc., as wound-dressing)
- Moon, taboo of seeing during seclusion)
- Moon (tattooed as feminine element in nature)
- Mother (as chief in ceremony; as guardian, caretaker, etc.)
- a*Mother (prohibited from seeing child about to be initiated or secluded)
- ab*Mud (covering with)
- ab*Mutilation (of body, face, members; joints of little finger tied with cobwebs, and eaten off by ants)
- b*Nail (demons driven into tree by)
- ab*Nakedness
- ab*Naming
- ab*Narcotics, anesthetics, etc. (tobacco, chewed, eaten, prohibited, smoked; used as ordeal; used as purge, emetic, etc.)
- ab*Nasal septum (bored, distended, cut, pierced)

*ab*Ordeals (fire, thorns, etc.)

*ab*Painting; temporary, permanent; entire body, strips, face, etc.; use of flour, red earth, soot, white clay, pigments of all sorts)

Painting of special designs (four direction from corners of mouth; red disk, as sun-emblem, on crown of head)

*a*Passing out different door

*a*Paying attendants

*ab*Perfume

Piercing of hymen

*ab*Prayers

*a*Presentation to ancestors

*ab*Procession (to certain lake, mountain, river, sacred stone, etc.)

*b*Prohibition (of seeing adults; of anointing; bathing, etc., *ab*; of calling anyone by name, *ab*; of gluttony; of entering a field or kraal; of excitement and haste; of laughter, *ab*; of sleep, *ab*)

*b*Prostitution

*ab*Purging

*ab*Purification (cedar-bark, needles, wood, etc., burned! cow-dung, etc., dissolved in water; leaf and wood smoke; plants, sweet-grass, etc., burned; washing in water, etc.)

*a*Races (foot-racing by girl and guests; horse-racing, races in water)

*ab*Rattles (of deer-hoof, etc.; gourds, etc.)

*a*Relatives (girl not allowed to see)

*b*Repetition (same ceremony repeated at second menstruation)

*a*Reviling (attendants and tutors revile the neophytes, who are expected to make fitting return)

*ab*Riddles (carved on sticks during seclusion; guessing-contests)

Right (of girl to exclude her enemies from ceremonies and ordeals)

Rights (of attendant of girl in seclusion to enter any house before sunrise, and take anything without pay)

*a*Ring (worn as sign of puberty)

River (ceremonial bathing, washing, *ab*; floating object down, as offerings, or charms to keep off demons, *b*)

*b*Roasting

*ab*Sacrifices offered in behalf of girl

*ab*Sand (burying in; painting; winnowing)

*ab*Scarification

*ab*Scratch-stick

*a*Sea (ceremonial bathing, etc.; seclusion by; taboo, girl must not walk near high-water mark, and never below it)

*ab*Seclusion (from a few hours to ten years or more)

*ab*Seclusion (continuous during period of initiation or purification)

*ab*Seclusion (with periods of intermission for dancing, feast, etc.)

*ab*Seclusion (in bush, pit, one part of general family house; in separate house; at seashore, etc.)

Sex, other (girls may beat boys of same age with thorns)

Sex, other (permanent assumption of rôle of other sex in case of psychic or social inversion)

*b*Sex, other (if a youth is enfeebled or ill, pubescent girl may paint or tattoo lines on his wrists or arms, even while she is ceremonially unclean)

*a*Sexual intercourse

Sieve (pouring water through

- for first bath during menstruation)
- ab*Silence enforced
Song (erotic, composed by girls)
- ab*Songs (esthetic; domestic duties; arts and crafts, food-songs by mother, by father; initiation; magical; physical, to promote growth of breasts, etc.)
- a*Songs as sex-instruction
- ab*Sprinkling (with feathers, flour meal, hoddentin, water, etc.)
- b*Star (prohibition of seeing)
Star (girl must bathe, and come out of seclusion when morning-star rises)
Star (symbol tattooed on girl as the four life-giving winds)
Star (symbol tattooed as night, or emblem of mother-force in nature)
- ab*Steaming
- a*Stinging (with ants, juices of poisonous plants and shrubs; producing temporary, or permanent marks)
Stones (carrying or wearing heated stones in belt)
Stones (carrying heavy, as test of strength during seclusion)
- a*Stones (sleeping on)
- ab*Suicide (in case of first-born, etc.; sacrifice; as fulfilment of vow of parents)
- b*Sun (gazing at till swoon is produced)
- ab*Sun (prohibition of seeing)
Sun (tattooed as mark of honor on girl's forehead)
- ab*Sweat-bath
- ab*Sweat-lodge (confinement in)
- a*Swimming (ending of ceremony; swimming-song)
- a*Swinging (in hammock as part of seclusion)
Swinging (performed by adolescent girl as magical rite for fertility of crops and race)
- b*Taboo (of approaching "medicine", the sick; of touching or seeing a large animal, bear, deer, etc.; sex-taboo, *ab*; blood, food, drink, head, moon, star, sun, water, etc.)
- ab*Tattooing (from few dots or lines to patterns over whole body)
- a*Threads (of cotton, silk, sinew, etc., tied about ankles and wrists; as decorations; as magical; as hygienic measure)
Tide (girl must bathe, after seclusion, when tide is running out; must not below high-water mark)
- ab*Tooth (filing, knocking; blackening, coloring, lacquering; removal, etc.)
- a*Totem (at first menstruation girl ties some symbol of her totem to her loins, to warn men of her condition)
- b*Totemism (both sexes instructed in at puberty; designs painted or tattooed on body, etc.)
Tree (bark, leaves, needles, etc., worn as decoration or sign of puberty, *a*; bark, boat floated down river, bearing lighted candles, offerings, etc., to drive off evil spirits, *b*)
- b*Tree (procession to sacred)
Tree-climbing (to give strength to girl and offspring)
Turtle (tattooed on girl to represent water and wind)
Turtle (prohibited during pairing season to menstruating girl)
- b*Veils worn
- a*Vermin (stinging with, as ordeal, test, punishment, etc.)
- a*Vermin (adolescents collect, and set adrift in small boat, to avoid being afflicted by them in mature life)

*ab*Vigils (long periods of sitting, standing, sleeplessness, etc., to avoid laziness)

*ab*Vomiting

*ab*Votive offerings

*a*Vow-fulfilments (if made by parents for child before or soon after birth)

*ab*War-dance (girl, with girl companions, dance before entire tribe, at end of ceremony)

*a*Warriors (girl wears clothes, decorations, weapons, etc., of)

*ab*Washing (ceremonial performance of; all who are with girl must wash before speaking to outside persons or men)

*ab*Water (prohibition of drinking; must be cold, warmed, mixed with clay)

*b*Whistling (whistling into girl's mouth)

*ab*Wine-drinking (allowed for first time at puberty; prohibition of; ceremonial use of)

Women (as chief in ceremony; as prohibited from seeing secluded girl, penalty death from sickness)

Wood (heavy pieces carried by girl, and placed in rocks, trees, etc.; strength-test)

*ab*Work (abstained from for periods of from one day to several years; begun for first time at puberty)

Work(special hard work done by girl on day of first menstruation, to avoid dysmenorrhoea, and also laziness in future life)

B. Significance of Factors Listed in "Puberty"-Ceremonies

In the "puberty"-ceremonies studied, there are 311 main items listed as occurring with sufficient frequency, or prominence, to be considered important. Very few are isolated; the majority occur in combination with other factors, and are grouped in various ways. Of these 311 items, 237 are common to adolescent ceremonies for both sexes; 42 are, apparently, distinct modes of treatment for the adolescent girl; the remainder, as well as most of those common to both sexes, are found in frequent use among other social classes, and in ceremonies of initiation generally.

Of the 42 (13% of the whole number), chiefly distinctive of customs relating to girls, 11% are mainly physical in character, and these bear close resemblance to analogous customs for boys, as, for example, the practice of introcision, performed on pubescent girls, is the physical counterpart of the subincision rite for boys (85); 11% are esthetic in function, bearing no relation to puberty, and only incidental references to sex; 28% have pedagogic relations; religious and social elements receive the chief emphasis in 70%. In each phase there is overlapping, due to the fact that a single custom may possess several native interpretations.

In dealing with the significance of these factors, it is clear that no generalizations can be made. No statistical value obtains in a numerical statement of the way in which they group themselves under certain headings; yet such treatment has a suggestive value. Of the 311 cases, 76, or about 24%, are mainly esthetic; 31% have pedagogical significance; in 39% the physical element is predominant; 220 or 70% of all, are social and religious in character.

Complexity of function is the most marked indication of the entire group. Overlapping is especially prominent in physical and social and religious aspects. On the other hand, items which appear wholly esthetic are frequently given social explanations. Thus, the use of feathers serves both as decoration and as a religious rite among the Zuñis. (86.) So, the practice of circumcision may be explained simply as the physical preparation for marriage; or it may be the badge of social maturity, or serve as the initiation to a religious group. Again, its explanation may be pedagogic, as to teach the girl not to be

lazy, or to enable her to carry heavy burdens without fatigue. The explanation may be hygienic, as preventive of disease, or inconvenient desires. Or, purely esthetic reasons may predominate, such as making the individual more attractive to the opposite sex. All these reasons, in great variety, are current among the people studied. Tattooing is another conspicuous example of a practice to be listed in all four groups. So, too, mutilations of many kinds, anointing, dancing, singing, purification, hair-arrangement, use of various materials for decoration, etc., all these show esthetic, physical, pedagogic, and social and religious aspects.

The esthetic group contains those items which are, perhaps, most rarely found in isolation. The esthetic phase may represent both the beginning and the decay of a custom. For instance, the elaborate tattooing of the Fiji girl is described as being purely decorative at first, and has now become an important badge of social position, the absence of which would prevent marriage. (Thompson, B., *The Fijians*, Lond., 1908, pp. 217-219.) Again, the Korean ceremony of capping was formerly a serious religious and pedagogic rite, and now it shows a tendency to become merely an esthetic change of dress for adolescents of both sexes. This view harmonizes with the theory of the development of art set forth by Grosse and adopted by Reinach and others, namely, that "art for the sake of art" is never primitive, but a derived and conventionalized form of the original esthetic impulse. Primitive art is always a social and religious phenomenon, and performs a social and religious function. (Grosse, E., *Die Anfänge d. Kunst*, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 176-177; Reinach, S., *Cults, Myths and Religions*, London, 1912, pp. 124-137.)

In like manner, songs and dances that may be understood as having originally been esthetic appendages to a social festivity in honor of coming of age of youth, have become the means of sex-instruction or of initiation into both physical and religious mysteries. The pedagogical value of these songs and dances has often been overlooked, observers describing them as "obscene." Havelock Ellis (20: 87-88, 493) was among the first to see their real significance.

The pedagogical element is emphasized in various ways, from the casual beating at puberty, or the mere harangue given in the

course of the ceremony, to the direct training given for months in the "Greegree Bush" of the Vaï. A conspicuous example of deliberate pedagogy is the fast (from a couple of years to five or more), involving abstinence from all food especially liked, or rare foods, obligatory upon girls and boys of the Andaman islands. This fast is explained as a preparation for the self-denial necessary in bringing-up a family. Abstinence is especially prolonged in case of girls, so that they may become careful for their children.

Again, the pedagogical value may be hidden in dramatic presentation of folk-lore, as in the Athapaskan and Zuñi customs. Or, it may come incidentally through the potency of imitation of acts performed by adults; so the old women of the Luiseño, Diegueño and other Mission Indians distribute coins to the guests, and clothes to the poor and aged, in order that the girls may become generous.

Though the physical customs of "puberty"-ceremonies are very numerous and involved, ranging from the new arrangement of hair of the Hopi Indians to the elaborate mutilations of the Australian Blacks, it must be noted that a large part are simply hygienic in character,—such, for example, as wearing heated stones, or being buried in heated sand, etc. Such origin may be attributed possibly to the customs of "roasting" and steaming the pubescent girl. Seclusion, itself, thus arises naturally from the inclination for rest, and from the inconvenience in primitive culture of providing proper clothing during the period of menstruation.

Social and religious values, to a large extent, dominate all "puberty"-customs. A typical instance occurs in the intricate ceremony of the Yaos (Central African Bantus), where, after many elaborate rites and physical mutilations, etc., the chief purpose of the proceedings is seen in the carrying about by the group of initiated girls of the roof or skeleton model of a house, with the explanation that they thus become accustomed to the position of the "pillars of the home." (94:127.) Sometimes the real significance of adolescent ceremonial has been adequately set forth by the peoples themselves among whom it occurs.

HOW MAGIC IS TO BE DIFFERENTIATED FROM RELIGION

BY JAMES H. LEUBA, PH. D.,

Professor of Psychology, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Durkheim and his collaborators, Hubert and Mauss, acknowledge the presence of two forms of behavior in primitive tribes, since they endeavor to use discriminately the two terms magic and religion. It appears to me, and this I shall now try to make evident, that their analysis of the actions designated by these two names has not been sufficiently complete to uncover that which constitutes an unequivocal means of differentiation. When Durkheim tells us that there are religions from which the idea of God is absent, and that in all religions there are rites the efficacy of which is independent of any divine power, because the rite acts by itself, mechanically, he uses the term religion in a different sense from the one in which most people, among whom I am included, use that term. And when he instances original Buddhism as a religion without a god, he again uses "religion" in a sense which is not commonly accepted. Tiele, for instance, says that "primitive Buddhism ignored religion. It was only when, in opposition to its first principles, it had made its founder its god, and had thus really become a religion, that the way was open for its general acceptance."¹

A rite acting automatically is never, in the sense which I give to the word religion, a religious rite. It would, of course, be irrelevant to show with Hubert and Mauss,² in order to convince me of error, that sacrifice in the Vedic religion exercises "a *direct* influence upon celestial phenomena; it is all-powerful in its own rights and without any divine intervention." If it be so, these sacrifices belong, according to my principle of classification, not to religion, but to magic.

The question before us is then, By what characteristics can the activities under consideration be best separated in two groups? If one were to inquire into the common usage, I think that it

¹ *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 137.

² "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du Sacrifice," *Année Sociologique*, II, 14.

would be found that, on the whole, the rites which act directly or are automatically effective are called "magic," or "superstition"—in any case, not "religion," whereas the rites in which ideas, feelings, and volitions are supposed to be awakened in personal agents, by means that are not mechanical or automatic, but which may be called anthropopathic, that is to say, invocations, offerings, prayers, and the like, are called religion.

But even if such were not the current use of these terms, the following reason would lead me to believe that it should be the technical sense ascribed to them. When facts are to be classified, those bearing the more fundamental likenesses should be put together. It appears to me that the difference introduced into conscious experience by the passage from the use of a mechanical, coercitive force, to the use of an anthropopathic influence (offerings, prayers, penances, etc.) is more fundamental than any other difference existing between the facts to be classified. The results expected and secured may be the same whether one proceeds magically or religiously; but the actions, even though they should be externally identical (supposing this to be possible), are of a different psychological nature. In one case, one compels by mechanical means; in the other, one assumes a "personal" relation and attempts by anthropopathic means to reach one's end. Psychological attitudes could hardly differ more radically.

We are told by Durkheim that "the notion of divinity, far from being fundamental, is in reality merely a secondary episode." Our present problem, the differentiation of religion from other activities, does not involve the discovery of that which is fundamental in religion, but of that which is *differential*. I grant that, when compared, for instance, with the needs and the desires prompting to religious action, the god-ideas are secondary facts. But needs and desires are fundamental to each and every kind of human activity, whereas personal relations with great Beings are not involved in every form of human behavior. With regard to the differentiation of magic from religion, anthropopathic dealings with personal, or quasi personal beings is, I hold, *differential*.

It is to be observed that, although in my view belief in a personal being is a part of every existing religion, it is not in itself sufficient to mark off religion from magic, for a god may

be acted upon mechanically, coercitively, i.e., magically. It is the manner of acting upon the god which separates these two kinds of behavior.

If one accepts the principle of differentiation offered in these pages, one may no longer say with Hubert and Mauss "the religious rites often constrain; and, the god, in most ancient religions, was not at all able to escape from the compelling power of a rite properly performed."³ Such a rite is, by our definition, a magical rite, even though it acts upon a personal being.

Magie and religion are found very frequently side by side, in the same ceremonies or groups of ceremonies. When, for instance, the hero, Wäinämöinen of Finland, wishes to know what has become of the sun and the moon that have been stolen from the heavens, he seeks the knowledge by a prayer to Ukko the Creator [religion], yet he accompanies his prayer by mysterious and potent acts: first he cuts three chips from the alder, and lays them in magic order, touching and turning them with his fingers [magic]; and only then does he address the supreme God [again religion], who is also called "the great Magician."⁴ But, however closely interwoven, the activities I call respectively magic and religion always bear the clear differentiating mark I have singled out.

* * * * *

If one rejects the principle here offered for the separation of magic from religion, where can one find another acceptable one? Sacredness would not do, for all are agreed that it belongs to both. In the article of Durkheim, from which I have quoted, one does not find definite information on the use of these terms. But his learned collaborators, Hubert and Mauss, have made that question the topic of a long essay to which we shall now turn.⁵

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴ From George M. Stratton, *The Psychology of the Religious Life*, p. 136. I have given other instances of this close combination in my book, *A Psychological Study of Religion; its Origin, Function and Future*, Macmillan, 1912.

⁵ "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie," *Année Sociologique*, VII (1902-3), pp. 1-146. These authors accept in substance, I believe, Durkheim's view regarding the methods of sociology; and he is, as far as I know, in accord with them regarding their opinion on magic.

In reading Hubert and Mauss, one is surprised to find that their effort at defining magic and religion results only in the discovery of shifting differences of degree and not of kind. Instead of separating magic and religion, they have really connected them. If the facts were such as to make a sharp differentiation impossible, one would have to acquiesce; but I have shown, I think, that the phenomena covered by the terms magic and religion can be separated on the basis of an absolute difference.

They define magic as "any rite which does not belong to an organized cult, which is private, secret, mysterious, and tends toward the prohibited rite." If this definition was intended to be strictly construed; if, whenever a rite belonged to an organized cult, was social and public, we had an instance of religion and not of magic, the definition would be satisfactory. But the words upon which it turns are, according to our authors, to be taken only in a relative sense; we are really to understand that the *better* organized, the *more* social (the less individual), the *more* public (the less secret) the rite, the more religious it is. That such is the meaning of our authors appears plainly in their discussion. One reads, for instance, regarding the individual character of magic: "Magical rites, and magic in its entirety, are first of all facts of tradition. Acts which are not repeated are not magical. Acts in the efficacy of which the whole of a group does not believe are not magical. The form of magical rites is eminently transmissible and is sanctioned by public opinion. It follows from this that acts that are strictly individual, as for instance, the particular superstitious practices of players, cannot be called magical." We are told in this passage that magical rites are not strictly individual, but that they are performed by, or for, a group; whereas in the definition we were informed that magic was a private affair. Maleficent rites are said to be always magical, but we are also told there are religious rites "which are equally evil; such are, for instance, imprecations against the enemy of the city, against the violator of a sepulchre or of an oath, and all the death-ceremonies which sanction ritual interdictions."⁶

The attempt to differentiate the facts considered on the ground of social value, of public character, of beneficence, of fuller

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 14, 17.

organization of the ceremonials, fails, because all that can be claimed, even according to our authors, is that religion, as they use the term, possesses these qualities more generally and to a higher degree than magic. In order to obtain a differentia, one must look to the different psychological nature of the relations established between the performer and the object upon which he endeavors to act.

The relative differences noticed by our authors, that, for instance, religion is turned to account for social ends more widely than a magic, is a consequence of the nature of the gods. Since early gods are regarded usually as tribal ancestors or creators, they are *intimately related, not with isolated individuals, but with the social group as a whole*. The natural tendency would therefore be for the tribe as a whole to maintain relations with these beings. Whereas no obvious reason exists for a non-personal magical Power to be considered as belonging to, or as acting for, the entire community. It is at the service of any individual who chances to get hold of it.

This relationship of the gods to the tribe explains further why, when the separation between the offices of magician and of priest has taken place, the magician is more loosely connected with the tribe than is the priest.

The frequently evil character of magic⁷ is also readily explained. The blood-relationship involved between gods and the tribe, in the conception of ancestral and creator gods, necessarily implies a general attitude of benevolence toward the tribe. The gods are, therefore, unwilling to favor the enemy of the common weal. The worship, by a community, for evil purposes, of evil personal powers would lead speedily to the destruction of the community, for it would result in a systematic strengthening of antisocial forces. Thus it comes to pass that religion is less frequently used than magic for the gratification of individual and of evil purposes.

⁷ To classify activities according to a definite principle, and then to observe that each group possesses specific characteristics, is not, as one of my critics imagines, moving in a circle.

RELIGION AND MAGIC: A REPLY TO MR. WALLIS

BY JAMES H. LEUBA, PH. D.,

Professor of Psychology, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

In a long paper, entitled "Religion and Magic," published in the last issue of this JOURNAL, Mr. Wilson D. Wallis discusses my theory of the origin of magic and of religion and of their relation to each other.

A detailed answer would be a waste of time, for it seems as if Mr. Wallis had applied himself more to tangling up than to understanding my presentation. The following comments upon the three criticisms contained in the first page and a half of his paper may, however, serve as a sample both of the criticism to which I am subjected and of the answers which can be made to them. The reader interested in my opinions will find them sufficiently clearly set forth, I believe, in Part II of my book, and, in a condensed form, in a paper published in the present number of this JOURNAL under the title, "How Magic is to be Differentiated from Religion."

1. After quoting the sentence,

"what belong exclusively to religion are not the impulses, the desires, and yearnings to which these conceptions of a blessed future owe their existence, but merely the conceptions themselves", the author remarks, "Why such conceptions belong exclusively to religion and not to poetry and imagination as well, or how the conceptions are to be separated from the impulses, desires and yearnings to which they mutually owe their existence—for separately *ils n'existent pas*—is too important in this connection not to have been considered, though the problem has not been elucidated."

The conceptions of a future state evidently do belong also, in a sense, to "poetry and imagination." The discussion of the several classes of definitions of religion (Chap. II), my own definition, the differentiation of mythology from religion, as well as many statements in other parts of my book, leave no room for doubt concerning this point. I say, for instance,

To the child, the word "doll" means at one time a living person, who is capable of ideas and affection, and of whom she takes tender care; at another time, it signifies merely so much rags and color, and is treated accordingly. So it is with man and the invisible personages in whom he believes. Their nature and attributes vary with his moods. If the

æsthetic mood is upon him, he may find delight in representing these beings in their fairest form in clay or marble; at that moment he is an artist. If, in a fanciful mood, he lets his imagination weave stories about them, not seriously, but playfully, as the child romances about her doll, he then becomes a maker of myths. If at another time he is disinterestedly concerned about understanding the origin and nature of these beings, he regards them for the time being as objects of philosophic thought. But if, in a serious mood, he feels himself in vital relation with them, they are for him at that moment religious objects. Zeus may thus be in turn to the same person an object of artistic, mythopœic, philosophic, or religious activity. Pp. 204-205.

The words quoted by Mr. Wallis refer immediately in my book to ideas of a paradise. They are preceded by the following remarks:

"So that it is not the needs which are distinctive of religion, but *the method whereby they are gratified*. It might be objected that the Happy Hunting Grounds of the American Indian, the Paradise of the Christian, the Nirvana of the Buddhist, are specific religious ends. But here again what belongs exclusively to religion, etc."

In this passage, I meant to bring out the fact that the needs which men seek to gratify with the assistance of paradisiacal conceptions have not originated within religion, and that men seek to gratify them also in other than in religious ways. Whereas the ideas of paradise—at least of the Christian paradise and of Nirvana—have been evolved *within* the religious circle of thought. Their origin belongs thus to religion and not to poetry. One might not agree with me with regard to this origin, but why construe "belong exclusively to religion" as meaning that poetry cannot, or does not, avail itself of these conceptions?

2. "The sense of mystery," writes Mr. Wallis, summarizing my statements, "is not itself the beginning of religion, but religion *begins when the mystery has been given some solution*, naïve or critical, making possible practical relations with the 'ultimate.' Therefore, 'if men have lived by religion, it is not because they have recognized the mystery, but rather because they have, in their uncritical purposive way, transcended the mystery, and have posited a solution of which they were able to make practical use' (p. 28). From philosophy it is distinguished in this way: 'Philosophy searches for explanations, for intellectual unification; religion assumes knowledge and maintains dynamic relations with psychic powers greater than

man. The distinction may be expressed thus: the religious consciousness seeks *being*; the philosophical consciousness seeks knowledge. Considered from the intellectual side, religion postulates, philosophy inquires' (pp. 30-31). If, in place of religion, we write 'intellectual dogmatism' will this distinction not equally apply?"¹

Mr. Wallis is apparently of the opinion that 'intellectual dogmatism' "maintains dynamic relations with psychic powers greater than man," for that is what I affirm to be the characteristic of religion (the religious behavior) not only in the passage my critic himself quotes, but in many others. I affirm explicitly, and in several places, that it is not conceptions, nor emotions, nor yet the needs gratified that are distinctive of religion, but the *method*, or, as I also say, the *kind of behavior* whereby needs common to religious and non-religious life are gratified. That idea is fundamental to my conception of religion. I have devoted separate sections to the establishment of each part of this statement. (See Chapters I and II.) In the summary of Chap. II, I wrote, for instance, "That which differentiates religion from other forms of conduct is the kind of power upon which dependence is felt, and the kind of behavior elicited by the power." What that power is, is defined in subsequent chapters. On one of the pages from which Mr. Wallis quotes, there is this sentence, "So that it is not the needs which are distinctive of religion, but the method whereby they are gratified." And the very title of the first chapter reads, "Religion as a Type of Rational Behavior" (p. 8).

3. On page 34 of my book this sentence is written, "Religion rests upon various conceptions regarding the world and man." Mr. Wallis' comment upon this statement is,

"How it [Religion] can do so without itself involving or implying certain philosophic conceptions is incomprehensible. In order to do this it must seek knowledge or be taken to presuppose that knowledge has already been sought by it. In other words, it seems that here too 'intellectual dogmatism' could equally well be substituted for 'religion,' though 'intellectual dogmatism' will scarcely be able to rest itself on various conceptions, including current ones, without some of that seeking for knowledge which is supposed to be beneath or above it."

¹ The inner quotations are from my book as quoted by Wallis. The italics are his.

That which is incomprehensible to me is that Mr. Wallis should not have seen in the very passage he had just quoted (reproduced above) that in my opinion religion *does* involve or imply certain philosophical conceptions. The ground of differentiation between religion and philosophy is that, whereas the business of philosophy is to seek logical solutions to ultimate mysteries, the business of religion is to make a practical use of certain conceptions which it assumes uncritically, or which it accepts from the philosophers. This point of view is set forth at length on page 29-32, and is consistently adhered to throughout the book.

This brings us to the last paragraph of the second page of an article of thirty-three pages.

LITERATURE: BOOKS, ETC.

A *Glossary of Important Symbols in their Hebrew, Pagan and Christian Forms*. Compiled by ADELAIDE S. HALL. Boston: Bates & Guild Co., 1912. Pp. vi, 163.

The author of this little book is Curator at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, and "respectfully submits to all readers, travelers, and students, a list of symbols culled from her collection of notes covering a period of nine years' study upon the subject and an equal number of trips abroad," informing us further that, "in the majority of cases, the emblem has been personally verified." On page vi there is a Bibliography of 40 titles, in which the "pagans" of the New World are only inferentially represented. The character of the list is such that Ellen R. Emerson's *Indian Myths, or Legends, Traditions, and Symbols of the Aborigines of America, compared with those of Other Countries* (Boston, 1884) might well have been cited. The author has not utilized the wealth of data concerning American Indian symbolism accumulated since the appearance of Miss Emerson's book, which was none too scientific.

On page 8 the *Milky Way* is cited as signifying among North American Indians the "pathway of ghosts," and for the *rainbow* there is no citing at all, from this part of the world. Reference should be made under these two topics to W. J. Wintenberg's "Myths and Fancies of the Milky Way," in the *Journal of the Royal Astronomical Society of Canada* for 1908 and a brief article on "Der Regenbogen in der Mythologie der Indianer Amerikas," in *Am Ur-Quell* for 1893, by the reviewer.

For the *cross* a single citation of the *swastika* as signifying for the North American Indian "the four winds of heaven; prosperity" (p. 44) suffices. There are a few other references to American Indian symbolism, such, e.g., as the *bowl* among the Moki (p. 63), the *mask* (p. 87), etc. But, even in a popular book like this, aboriginal American symbolism should be more adequately represented.

A glance into Joseph E. Pogue's article (basis for a forthcoming monograph) on "The Aboriginal Use of Turquoise in North America," in the *American Anthropologist* for 1912 would add to the information on page 91; while the symbolism of the *tree* would be enriched by reference to the account of "Certain Iroquois Tree Myths and Symbols," in the same periodical for the same year. The data concerning the *cross* would, in like manner, gain by inspection of the writings of Prof. W. H. Holmes, particularly the suggestive paper contributed by him a few years ago to the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* on the significance of that symbol. Also A. Quiroga's less scientific *La cruz en America* (Buenos Aires, 1901).

Such material also as that given on the decorative art and symbolism of the Arapaho Indians by Dr. A. L. Kroeber, in his discussion of the "Sym-

bolism of the Arapaho Indians'', in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* (see Vols. 13 and 18) might well be drawn upon. Other sources available are Prof. Franz Boas' monograph on "The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast," in the same publication (Vol. 9), and C. Lumholtz's "Symbolism of the Huichol Indians" in the *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* for 1900 (Vol. 3). The voluminous literature relating to ancient Mexico deserved more ample treatment.

For Central America, may be cited as most serviceable here Dr. G. G. MacCurdy's "A Study of Chiriquian Antiquities," in the *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* for 1911, and his minor studies on the armadillo, alligator and other motifs, and Dr. H. J. Spinden's monograph, "A Study of Maya Art," appearing as Vol. 6 (1913) of the *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University*.

For South America, interesting material may be found in H. Kunike's article on "Der Fisch als Fruchtbarkeitssymbol bei den Waldindianern Südamerikas," in *Anthropos* for 1912. The symbolism of the fish has also been discussed at considerable length, with respect to Jewry, Christianity and the Orient by Dr. Paul Carus, in the *Open Court* for 1911 and J. Scheftelowitz, in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* for the same year.

For civilized and primitive Eastern Asia, important contributions for the study of symbolism are the writings of Dr. B. Laufer, especially his "Jade: A Study in Chinese Archeology and Religion," published as Vol. 10 of the *Anthropological Series of the Publications of the Field Museum* (Chicago), and "Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes," in the *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* for 1902 (Vol. 7). Other titles might be added for other parts of the globe, but those given already will suffice to show the improvements that can be made in a second edition of this interesting little book.

A. F. C.

Les Vingt-cinq récits du Mauvais Génie, traduits de l'hindi par MATHILDE DEROMPS, élève diplômée de l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1912. Pp. 236. Price, Frs. 6.

The main part of this book consists of the French text, with foot-notes explanatory of proper names, etc. Pages 5-48 are occupied by brief *résumés* of each of the 25 tales and a commentary (pp. 24-48), explaining various references, terms used, etc. The *Baitâl Pacist*, or *Twenty-Five Tales of the Evil Génie*, were composed originally in Sanskrit, under the title of *Vêtâla-Pañçavimçati*. Then, during the reign of Muhammad Shah, at the request of Jai Sing Sawai, Raja of Jaipur in Rajputana, they were translated by Surat Kahisvar into Brajbhâkâ, or "the shepherds' language," a variety of Hindi current in the Plains of the Jumna and Ganges. From this text, the poets Çrî Lallû Jî Lal Kal and Maghar Ali Khan together made a translation in 1805, in the popular Hîndi tongue.

The hero of these tales is one of the most famous of Hindu princes, Bir-Bikramâjit, or, to give him his Sanskrit name, Vira-Vikramâditya,

King of Ujjain in Central India. The whole story is *résumé*d by the translator as follows:

King Bir-Bikramâjit is warned by a demon, charged by Indra with watching over his states, that a yôgi, after having killed the monarch of the Pālal, or infernal regions, has made of him a maleficent genie animating a corpse suspended from the branches of a *seris*-tree growing in a cemetery, and that this yôgi is plotting his death.

The King retires to his palace. The yôgi, named Shant-Shil, presents himself before him, gives him a gift of rubies, and makes an appointment with him in a cemetery, but, before killing him, orders him to seek the Evil Genie, who, he says, is to be found in another cemetery, situated on the Godavery, a little way off.

The hero obeys the order, and arrives at the cemetery, but the Evil Genie refuses to follow him, except on the condition that he will not speak a single word *en route*. The King promises, and carries him off. But the Genie begins a tale and asks the King a question, and the latter, forgetting his promise, answers, and the Evil Genie returns immediately to his tree.

This happens 25 times. The 25th time, the King, embarrassed, does not know what to answer, and the Evil Genie, well satisfied with the courage, perseverance, and clever replies of the monarch, reveals to him the designs of Shant-Shil.

Put on his guard, the King succeeds in killing him and thus getting rid of his enemy, the yôgi. Indra and the gods, witnesses of his courage, promise him a most famous reign. Henceforth, the King governs in peace, protected by both the spirit of the Evil Genie and by that of the yôgi.

The author of the *Twenty-Five Tales* shows his acquaintance with the great Hindu epics, the Laws of Manu, etc. In several of the tales occur proverbs corresponding to some of ours:

"Do now what can be done, for who knows what will happen to-morrow?" (4th Tale).

"It is said that excess in all things is an evil" (5th Tale).

"Man projects a thing, but she (divinity) makes something else of it."

"The guilty is he who is accused" (12th Tale).

Altogether, these tales "are interesting, not by their subject, not as mere tales, but because they reveal to us the manners, the character and the thought of the *people* of India."

A. F. C.

St. Columba. *A Study of Social Inheritance and Spiritual Development*. By VICTOR BRANFORD. Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, 1913. Pp. 83.

The proceeds from the sale of this little book, whose aim is that of "re-interpreting old and familiar phenomena into the phrasing and form of current science," are to be devoted to the erection of a memorial to St. Columba, a statue "upon the Historic Mile of Edinburgh, which, after long dilapidation and neglect, is again in process of conservation and renewal." The author has depended chiefly on "the Comte-Le Play-Geddes formulae" and "the Lange-James-Hall formulae," *résumés*, re-

spectively, of sociology and of psychology, in his effort to sociologize and to psychologize the great Irish Saint (521-597 A. D.).

Not only poets but saints proliferated in early medieval Ireland,—and, “for several centuries in early medieval times, Irish saints were as common in Europe as Irish policemen in America to-day” (p. 19). And Columba, himself, was of the bardic order. Of him Mr. Branford observes (p. 24):

“Of all the early Irish saints, Columba is, perhaps, the most typical, as alike regional, national and international, and, in respect of his being at once amply historical and deeply legendary.”

He was the child of pastoralism,—and “pastoralism is the admitted parent of Christianity; but it is also the grandparent of the complementary religion, Hellenism” (p. 29). Columba’s education “began with the dream of his mother that her son would become a prophet of God” (p. 37), and his first actual teacher was “an aged and saintly hermit, to whose retreat, in a beautiful valley, Columba was sent for his early instruction.” A mother’s idealism, the nature-love of a wise old man,—these combined to influence the growing youth.

Moreover, “the aged hermit, we learn, was wont to take counsel of a certain Druid on matters touching the education of his charge.” So, idealist, naturalist and humanist were all there for him to begin with. He illustrated the truth that “youth must derive its ideals mainly through love of persons, manhood through interest in work and ideas, age through the significance of symbols” (p. 37). He had the experiences concerning which the author writes (p. 37):

“What is it that determines at adolescence whether a youth flames into passionate idealism, or lapses into animalism, becomes poet or pot-boy,—whether at manhood he hardens into mammonolatry or vibrates to the conviction of a message,—whether at senescence he becomes a garrulous egotist or a noble patriarch?”

In this spirit, Mr. Branford discourses upon the adolescence, manhood and age of Columba, and their application to the social phenomena of to-day. The Geddes philosophy is apparent throughout these pages, as may be seen from the following passages:

“The adolescent preparation of mind and hand for philosophy,—as teachers to-day in American schools begin to organize, as to-morrow in all our Universities,—is to participate in turn in all the elemental occupations,—to use the aptitudes and earn the experience of peasant as well as shepherd, of fisher and forester, of hunter and miner, as far as opportunity may in practice allow. Here, and here only, in fact, is the better training than that of militarism; which we now understand afresh as the natural rebound from the futile and failing education of leisure and the clerkly classes” (p. 42).

“When History and Geography, the two synthetic sciences, are reunited in our seats of learning, our seers will again acquire the binocular vision. And not until then can we expect them to foresee and provide new Quests for our young men, new Missions for our adults, and old Pilgrimages for themselves” (p. 81).

Amid all the evil things in the world to-day, there is at least one good,—“the hopeful factor is that there is always an oncoming crop of uncontaminated adolescents ready to be awakened to the inheritance of ideals” (p. 81). Through the novitiate of the individual and the novitiate of each people must come the fact that, “in the meeting of the Heritage of the Past with the Ideal of the Future, there ever arises the glow and light of a truly vital Present.”

And, as this union and incorporation of ideals becomes more complete, their expression will also be renewed,—through the Quests of Youth, the Missions of Maturity, the Pilgrimages of Age; and even to the renewal of Saintship” (p. 82).

A. F. C.

The Significance of Ancient Religions in Relation to Human Evolution and Brain Development. By E. NOEL REICHARDT, M. D., Lond. London: George Allen & Co., Ltd., 1912. Pp. xiv, 456.

In this work, which “refers especially to the ancient religions of Oriental Paganism,” and in which “the revelation of God in the figure of Jehovah is only dealt with, in the first place, to emphasize His complete separateness from the deities worshiped in those heathen cults; and, in the second place, to show that the conception of evolution, which the study of these religions unfolds, leads us to the historic proof of the assumptions of Judaism and Christianity,” the author sets forth “a theory, which is complementary and not antagonistic to Darwin’s great work,”—a theory, too, which, he claims, “explains every fact in human development, and gives us the key to every problem in morbid psychology.” This, it must be admitted, is a rather large order.

The four Books, into which the volume is divided, deal with: *The Generic Wave* (racial movements, physical basis of racial movements, the generic wave and its two phases, material deposit of generic wave, physical basis of generic wave), *The Rise of the Wave* (religious ideas of savages, significance of sex in evolution, first stage of religious development, physical basis of second stage, physical basis of third stage, relations between early religions and civilization, fourth stage of religious development, fifth stage of religious development, revelation of God in Jehovah, revelation of God in Jesus Christ), *The Period of Subsidence* (the Greek and Roman racial movements, the Mohammedan, Medieval, and Protestant racial movements), *Final Considerations* (problems of morbid psychology, biological relations).

Dr. Reichardt thinks that “the separateness of Jehovah is not sufficiently emphasized in current works on Comparative Religion,” and that “the whole of Oriental Paganism is a self-revelation of the cosmic process acting on the individual.” These ancient religions

“Arose out of a continuous progression of mental states, which were the necessary results of the development taking place in the upper part of the grey matter,”

and

“The whole historical and religious development of humanity, during the last ten thousand years, has been the inevitable consequence of the psycho-physiological conditions postulated in my theory.”

The great "generic wave" (figured opposite p. xiii) propagates itself through a series of smaller wavelets, themselves representing "the successive Racial movements, which have given rise to the growth and decay of great communities, and through which the evolutionary movement has propagated itself in humanity; the large wave rises to its full height and then subsides; the development signalized by the large wave commenced about 6,000 years before Christ, and has operated ever since in one great growth of humanity" (p. xiii). During this period, "the new cells produced only a pagan religious consciousness, which was so subjective that it led to the complete neglect, and, finally, to the complete suppression, of the material civilization and culture, in the midst of which the development started."

During the "period of subsidence," after the Jewish racial movement (which "revealed to the individual the Creator of the whole Universe"), the author tells us, "the new cells have saved themselves from atrophy by entering into relation with the outside world, the oppressive element of Oriental Paganism has gradually decayed, and we stand now at the zenith of a later Racial movement, wherein the tendency toward the reintegrating of material civilization and culture is clearly triumphant, and the individual is endowed with a grasp over the forces and materials of Nature which is enormously greater than that possessed by humanity before the development commenced." To woman, in our world, the author assigns a subordinate position, maintaining that man has "a paramountcy which springs from the fact that in our Genus he is the developing creature" (p. 132). He thinks further (p. 143);

"The new mind-organ which has added itself to the anatomy of the individual is, therefore, one which has come into existence during a period of evolutionary activity in which the male was the sole developing creature; the pre-existing mind-organ was likewise fashioned during a period when the female was the sole developing creature. It is thus possible to differentiate these two sets of mind-elements by the terms Neo-andric and Paleo-gynic, the Neo-andric being the new mind-organ, and the Paleo-gynic the pre-existing one."

The stages of religious development are: "Malignant animism" (p. 145); totemism (Osiris); solarism (Ra); religion of later Babylon, Assyria, Phenicia; religion of Persian Aryans; Brahmanism. So far, "the cosmic process . . . produced results catastrophic to humanity," but "in the next stage of development, Judaism achieved its great revelation, and, in the sublime figure of Jehovah, the religious consciousness revealed to humanity the true Creator and the final purpose of the great process" (p. 297). For the author (p. 299): "The figure of Jehovah, in other words, is not merely a subjective creation of the human mind, like one of the pagan gods, but personifies an existent reality in the outside world". But "the revelation of God in Christ" is "the supreme event of human religion."

This volume needs to be re-written in the light of the more recent data concerning primitive religions, those of the American continent in par-

ticular, with due recognition of the investigations of the "American school" of anthropologists. It is becoming more and more apparent that facts of religious development are cultural and psychological, and not biological, in their nature and their evolution. Dr. Reichardt is altogether too "physiological" and "biological" for a historian of any great aspect of *Kulturgeschichte*. A. F. C.

Aus Natur und Geisteswelt. Sammlung wissenschaftlich-gemeinverständlicher Darstellungen. 390. Bändchen. *Geschichte der deutschen Frauendichtung seit 1800*. Von Dr. HEINRICH SPIERO. Mit 3 Bildnissen auf I Tafel. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913. Pp. 140.

The seven sections of this sketch of the history of German poetry by women in the 19th century treat of: Romanticism, The "Young German" Period, The Age of Realism, Years of Transition, Intellectual and Social Emancipation, Home-Art and the Description of Society, New High Art. The Introduction (pp. 1-3) discusses briefly the rise of women as participators in the artistic life of Germany, which, Dr. Spiero thinks, was made possible only through Christianity,—and, in particular, through the Protestant Reformation.

For long centuries, woman in Germany was the chief subject of art, not its creator. The "nun of Gandersheim" and Frau Ava (d. 1127 A. D.) are lost in contrast with the figures of women in the great epics (Kriemhild, Brunhild, Gudrun), the heroines of the Minnesong, etc. And not till after the Reformation, although women had a large share in the mysticism of the 13th and 14th centuries, is their song really heard,—e.g., the Countess of Schwarzburg, pietist. In the 18th century, too, the author notes, the poetry and literary art of woman were still something quite subordinate,—"woman was here the co-bearer of culture and taste, and not yet the creator." It is through the changes wrought in German life as a result of the Romantic movement that woman appears "now no longer-to-be-neglected, among the combatants, to whom previously, behind the line of battle only, she had called out an inspiring or a consoling word, or had stretched forth a comforting hand."

While recognizing that the highest praise possible for the work of a woman is that it was written by "a whole woman," Dr. Spiero wisely doubts the necessity or the possibility of separating all the poetry of one sex from that of the other, for much of woman's work is as human, in the generic sense, as man's is. In Germany, to-day, woman is "at home in all fields of poetry except the dramatic" (p. 123), but even there, Gertrud von Prellwitz and M. H. Gareth, and Elsie Hasse have been pioneers.

During the 19th century in Germany, "the poetry of women has gained in extent, in inner wealth, and in depth," and, moreover, "to every newly-won region of life conquered in song the special womanly imprint has been given." Even in the battle for emancipation, art has been triumphant, and woman is still woman. One can heartily recommend this sympathetically written sketch of an important phase of Germany's artis-

tic life. The reviewer would have added something to the scant notice (p. 122) of Johanna Ambrosius, to whom Dr. Spiero prefers Frieda Jung.

A. F. C.

Feste und Bräuche des Schweizervolkes. Kleines Handbuch des schweizerischen Volksbrauchs der Gegenwart in gemeinfasslicher Darstellung. Von Prof. Dr. E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER. Zürich: Schultheisz & Co., 1913. Pp. xiv, 179.

This comprehensive and compact little handbook of modern Swiss folk-festivals and folk-customs is by a distinguished folklorist, who is also the editor of the *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, established in 1897 as the organ of the Swiss Folk-Lore Society. Pages 2-20 are occupied with a Bibliographical-Historical Sketch of folk-lore activities in Switzerland, and pages 168-179 by a good index (2 cols. to the page).

Especially noteworthy are Tobler's *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* (the first section of which appeared in 1881; by the end of 1912 seven quarto volumes had been published), a monumental dialect dictionary; and the labors of the "Committee for the Collection of German-Swiss Folk-Songs," begun under the leadership of J. Meier,—at the close of 1912, about 13,000 numbers had been recorded. Other parts of Switzerland than the German-speaking have followed, and A. Rossat alone, in French Switzerland, has collected over 2,500 songs. The showing made by Switzerland in both recording and publishing folk-lore material puts to shame other regions of the globe, where the necessity of preservation is even greater.

Dr. Hoffmann-Krayer defines folk-lore as "the science of those expressions of folk-life, which either point back to older stages or culture, or are characteristic of a certain region" (p. 1). Folk-lore subjects are the following:

Arrangement of *Dorf* and *Hof*; peasant-house and belongings; folk-dress; folk-industry and folk-art; customs, usages, festivals, games, etc.; superstitions; *Märchen* and *Sage*; folk-songs, rhymes, children's songs, riddles, house and other inscriptions; folk-speech (proverbs, phrases, formulae, wit, jest, etc.; folk-implements.

The present volume, which *résumés* the chief Swiss festivals and customs of the 19th century, has these three divisions:

Landmarks of human life (birth and baptism; betrothal and wedding; death and burial; miscellaneous); *Non-calendaric festivals and customs* (village-life and its characteristic customs; folk legal customs; occasional customs and festivals connected with professions; customs and festivals of unions, societies, brotherhoods, etc.; memorial celebrations and Confederacy festivals; Constitutional customs and festivals; popular church-customs); *Calendaric festivals and customs* (winter-days, spring-days, summer-days, fall-days, ember weeks).

There is a surprising amount of accurate information within the covers of this little book, which might well be taken as a model for writers upon English folk-lore of a like nature. One volume such as this would be worth many poor re-issues of Brand's *Observations on Popular Antiquities* or Hazlitt's more recent compilation.

A. F. C.

Publications of the Newberry Library Number 4. *Descriptive Account of the Collection of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongol, and Japanese Books in the Newberry Library.* By BERTHOLD LAUFER, Ph. D. Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1913. Pp. ix, 42. Illd. (5 pls.).

The Newberry Library possesses a magnificent collection (1,216 works in 21,403 volumes) of East Asiatic books and manuscripts relating to religion, philosophy, history, belles-lettres, philology and art, obtained by the expert Orientalist, Dr. B. Laufer, in his expedition of 1907. The languages concerned are represented as follows:

Japanese: 143.
Tibetan: 310.
Mongol: 72.
Manchu: 60.
Chinese: 621.

Included are "18 manuscripts, all unpublished and deserving of publication." The collection contains also many early printed works and *unica* are not lacking, especially in regard to the history of religion. Some of the more important and interesting works of value here are the following:

1. The Palace edition (26 vols., 1677) of a *Commentary to the Four Classical Books* (*Se shu*), composed by the Emperor K'ang-hi.

2. An edition of 1742 of the *Kanjur* ("Translation of the Word," i.e., of Buddha), "the adopted canon of the sacred writings of Buddhism, translated into Tibetan mostly from the original Sanskrit texts by a trained staff of Buddhist monks from the 9th to the 13th century."

3. An edition of 1738, from a temple of Wu-ch'ang, of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, or "corresponding Chinese version of the sacred writings of the Buddhist canon, embracing approximately 2,000 works of dogmatic, metaphysical and legendary character translated from the Sanskrit,"—it is known as *Ta Ts'ing San tsang king*, or Buddhist Canon of the Tsing or Manchu dynasty.

The collection is strong in Chinese historical works, cyclopedias ("the cyclopedic tendency of the Chinese has become almost proverbial"), lexicography, poetry (most valuable for studying the psychology of the Chinese, "the most difficult of all subjects connected with China"), bibliography, etc. The activity of modern scholars in philology, archeology, criticism, is also represented. The 20,000,000 adherents of Islam in China, who "brought into existence a not inconsiderable literature in Arabic and Chinese," furnish 21 works in the collection. During the last decade there has been "a remarkable renaissance movement in Chinese literature, and the advocates of the "degeneration" theory are going to prove very poor prophets. Says Dr. Laufer, in conclusion (p. 42):

"In view of the pulsating life animating the production of Chinese literature, in all its branches, at the present time, I cannot join in the pessimistic outcry, with which W. Grube concludes his *Geschichte der chinesischen Litteratur*, I see life and progress everywhere, and trust in the future of China. I believe that her literature will bring forth new

facts and new thoughts, and that the time will come when it will arrest the attention of the world at large."

The Newberry Library is to be highly praised for its efforts to make accessible to America the rich literary treasures of the Orient in their unimpaired originals.

A. F. C.

Man and his Forerunners. By H. v. BUTTEL-REEPEN, Prof. D. Phil. (Zool.). Incorporating Accounts of Recent Discoveries in Suffolk and Sussex. Authorized Translation by A. G. THACKER, A. R. C. S. (Lond.). With a frontispiece, 70 figures in the text, and 3 tables. London (and New York): Longmans, Green & Co., 1913. Pp. x, 96.

This is "a free translation," "rather more popular and less technical in style than the German original," of Dr. v. Buttel-Reepen's *Aus dem Werdegang der Menschheit*, published in 1911. The translator has made several changes, substituting, e.g., for the "mainly German bibliography" of the original "a short list of English books dealing with prehistoric times," and (except in the measurements of skulls) using the English notation instead of the metric. He has also aided the author in incorporating the account of the now famous "Sussex man." A good index ends the little book, which is plentifully illustrated with representations of human remains, artifacts, etc. The seven brief chapters treat of the following topics: The earliest traces of man; Man before the ice age; The glacial period and the early stone age; The Neandertal race; Higher races of the ice age and the Sussex find; Men, pre-men, and apes; The close of the ice-age.

Dr. v. Buttel-Reepen accepts the view that the so-called "eoliths" are of human manufacture, believing that "we are compelled to assume that man has passed through some early stage resembling that which the eoliths seem to show us" (p. 9). The first relics of man, or of "a tool-using animal," allied to man, "are found in the later Tertiary deposits, dating from the far distant times before the great ice-sheets changed the face of the northern hemisphere." Pre-glacial man lived in a warm climate, and, Dr. v. B.-R. thinks, was vegetarian before being a hunter; the advent of cold and the early discovery of fire led to the great use of animal food (p. 16).

In connection with the *Pithecanthropus*, which the author regards as an "erect-walker," and possibly in the direct line of human ancestry, he remarks (p. 19):

"It is probable, for other reasons, that the legs were the first part of the body to become human in form; because, even for mechanical reasons, it was only after the erect carriage had been assumed, that the increase in the size of the brain-case and brain could come about."

The relationship of the Javan "ape-man" and Neandertal man to one another and to the existing races of man is still a matter of controversy, and the author does not often taken a distinct position in these matters,—he does not, e.g., in referring to Klaatsch's view that the more primitive Neandertal people were exterminated by another and higher race, the Aurignacian, who were cannibals. The reconstruction of a "Neandertaler" (p. 51) is from an original drawing by M. v. Buttel, and is much more humane than the usual run of such imaginative sketches.

The Neandertal people were succeeded by the "Loess-hunters," from whom were later evolved the "Cro-Magnon race," the artists of southern France, who, with the Aurignacians, are responsible for the wonderful carvings and paintings, whose numbers and importance are increasing with the new discoveries of every year. The ancestors of the Aurignacians, the author thinks (p. 69), are more likely to have been the men of Piltdown ("Sussex man") than the Neandertal race. But it is also possible that the *Eoanthropus Dawsoni* may have been "a primitive outlying race, which became extinct, and the Loess-hunters from another continent."

Klaatsch's "gorilla-chimpanzee-orang theory" of human origins is considered at some length on pages 72-74, and the author sums it up as "man is not descended from the ape, but the ape from man," stating that it must be taken *cum grano salis*. Klaatsch's own view is that "the apes are to be regarded as the results of unsuccessful attempts to compass the road to mankind, as degenerate branches of the pre-human stock, which, in adapting themselves to special conditions of life, in the struggle for existence, sacrificed important parts of their anatomy, the way upward being cut off in particular by the reduction of the thumb; while this was happening, a more favored branch of the primeval stem was quietly evolving upward into mankind, retaining, in the process, many of the primitive characters." Dr. v. B.-R. considers it not improbable that "the remains of the common ancestor may one day be discovered,"—indeed the little fossil monkey, *Plophopithecus* (found in the Egyptian Oligocene), "is probably not far off the main line of descent" (p. 77).

This little book is a most interesting and useful summary of facts and theories concerning certain aspects of prehistoric man. A. F. C.

Old World Ballads. By PADRIC GREGORY. With frontispiece by Norman Keene. London: David Nutt, 1913. Pp. 72. Price 2 sh. net.

This little collection contains two Scotch ballads ("Master Fox" and "Laird Gillie,")—"after the manner of the old Border Ballads;" four Irish ballads of the Rebellion of 1798, in the Ulster dialect ("The Wail of the Mad Woman," "A Ballad of a Posthumous Child," "A Rebel's Wife," and "The Return of the Youngest-born"), and two English ballads ("The Ballad of Adeela," and "An Old English Song Ended.")

The "Ballad of Master Fox," which occupies pages 7-37, "is based on the story, 'written down from memory' by Blakeway, and contributed by him to Malone's *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821), Vol. vii. pp. 163-165, in elucidation of Benedick's speech in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act I., Scene I.:—"Like the old tale, my lord: it is not so, nor 'twas not so, but indeed God forbid it should be so." This ballad belongs in the *Bluebeard* class. The "Old English Song Ended" concludes the well-known

"How should I your true love know
From another one?—
By his cockle-hat, and staff,
And by his sandal-shoon."

Mr. Gregory is quite skilful in his reconstruction and rehabilitation of old folk-literature. A. F. C.

L'uomo attuale: una specie collettiva. V. GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI della Facoltà di Sci. Natur. dell'Università di Napoli. Con Tavole e Figure nel Testo e una Carta Geografica dei Gruppi Umani. Milano-Roma-Napoli: Albrighi, Segati e C., 1913. Pp. viii, 192.

The original lecture, of which this book is an amplification, and the German edition have already been noticed in this Journal (see vol. v, pp. 445-447; vol. vi, pp. 205-206). This Italian original differs from the German version, *Homo Sapiens* (Wien u. Leipzig, 1913), in several respects. It contains 12 plates of ethnic types (Sakai and Semang; Maori; Papuans of New Guinea of "Semitoid type;" Hula and Kamaweka of New Guinea; Congo Negrillo and Ba-Binga; Vedda of Ceylon and Toala of Celebes; natives of Mindoro; Eskimo and Fuegian; Melanesian of Solomon Is. and Fiotte-Ivili Negro of Gaboon; Kubu of Sumatra; Somali and Tamil; Australian Black and Sicilian of Catania); the table of the distribution of human races (No. XI, p. 156) is colored, instead of black and white; the index of authors is omitted,—also the geographic-ethnographic index. The arrangement of Chapters I-VIII appears the same in both editions, and Chapters X and XI of the Italian correspond to XIII and XIV of the German. The rest of the material is essentially the same, although ordered somewhat differently. We can again recommend this book, in either the German or the Italian form, as the best of its kind and deserving a place in every library.

A. F. C.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

- 65-66. *Atlantis*. In the *Revue anthropologique* (vol. 23, 1913, pp. 103-108), Prof. P. G. Mahoudeau discusses "Les traditions relatives à l'Atlantide et à la Grèce préhistorique transmises par Platon." He reaches the following conclusion (p. 108):

"Consequently, if we suppress all the amplifications for the glory of Athens, and if we leave out of account the adaptations concerning Atlantis to the geographical ideas of Plato's time, it seems that there existed, among the priests of Egypt, or simply in Greece, about eight centuries before our era, some traditions preserving the remembrance of geological cataclysms, which had taken place in Attica, and perhaps also in southern Italy. This is all that seems probable."

It is certain that "9,000 years before the time of Solon," no vessel, Egyptian, Phenician, or Greek, had ever passed beyond the columns of Hercules. The cataclysms remembered were rather at the other side of the Mediterranean.

In a later number of the same periodical (pp. 214-217) Prof. Mahoudeau treats of "Les Atlantes d'après les auteurs de l'antiquité." Plato, Herodotus, Pausanias, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, etc., are cited. The accounts of *Atlantes* of Herodotus, Pausanias, P. Mela, C. Julius Sabinus and Pliny relate in some way to the peoples of the Atlas regions, while the notions of Diodorus Siculus go back to Hellenic mythology and Platonic tradition.

67. "*Bride-flight*" in Italy. According to the little monograph of Caterina Pigorini-Beri, *Di un singolare uso nuziale nel patrimonio matildico* (Citta di Castello, 1911), reviewed by R. Corso in *Lares* (vol. I, 1912, pp. 97-99), there prevails a custom known as *scappata della sposa*,—the flight of the bride a few days before marriage, and a certain ceremony connected with her return. The *scappata* is not known merely from the Matildic country, but Pitré has reported it from Sicily, etc. Corso seems inclined, not to see the origin of this custom, as the author does, in "local feudalism," but thinks it possibly a survival of marriage by capture (the tribute of prelibation is also suggested). The preliminary flight of the bride, he thinks, may belong with the same sacro-magical rites as the "false bride," etc.
68. *Children's Christmas-plays*. In the *Mitt. d. Schles. Ges. f. Volkskunde* (1913, vol. 15, pp. 1-30), F. Wentzel discusses "Die Weihnachtsspiele der südlichen Oberlausitz und ihre literarische Beziehungen." The Advent-plays of Upper Lusatia and the adjacent parts of Bohemia, together with the Shepherd-plays, show close relationships with those of Silesia. But the Advent-play has remained more independent, and

has not, like the Silesian, merged with the "Birth-of-Christ plays," or the "Kindelwiegen." A special development is exhibited by the "Herod-play." From the region in question the author has collected a large number of Christmas-plays, all performed by children and not by adults.

69. "*Christos legend.*" The article of G. W. van Pelt, on "The Christos Legend and its Meaning," in *The Theosophic Path* (1912, vol. 3, pp. 365-368), is a characteristic theosophical interpretation of Osiris, Mithras, Krishna, Buddha, Christ, etc., as typifying "the eternal struggle of spirit with matter."
70. *Congress of Religious Ethnology at Louvain.* During the week of August 27 to September 4, 1912, there was held at Louvain a "Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse," of which an account is given by Father G. Schmidt in *Anthropos* (1912, vol. 7, pp. 1049-1055). The proceedings were intended as "an introductory course to the comparative science of religions," from the point of view of Catholic scholars and investigators. The international committee in charge of the organization of the Congress, its program, etc., was headed by Cardinal Mercier as honorary president and Father Schmidt as general secretary, and included members from the following countries: Belgium, Austria, England, France. Among the speakers were missionaries from various parts of the globe, professors from a number of European universities, etc. The topics treated were:
African ethnology and religions: *Schmidt.*
African religions: *Le Roy; de Jonghe.*
African totemism: *Trilles.*
American totemism: *de Jonghe.*
Anamese religions: *Cadière.*
Animism and manism: *Bros.*
Astral mythology: *Schmidt.*
Egyptian totemism: *Capart.*
Ethnology: *Schmidt.*
Linguistics: *van Ginneken.*
Material culture of non-civilized peoples: *Hestermann.*
Practical sociology: *Trilles.*
Practical work in linguistic observations: *Colle; Nekes.*
Practical work in religious observation: *Cadière; de Clercq.*
Pre-magic and magic: *Bouvier.*
Religion and morals: *Lemonnyer.*
Religion and personal piety: *de Grandmaison.*
Religion and social cult: *de Grandmaison.*
Sociology: *Schrijnen.*
Study of religions: *Pinard.*
Supreme Being: *Le Roy.*
The other world: *Lemonnyer.*
Totemism: *Schmidt.*

A number of the papers are to be published in extenso in various journals. That of Father de Clercq, "Indications pratiques pour faire des observations en matière religieuse chez les peuples incultes" has already appeared in *Anthropos* (1913, vol. 8, pp. 12-21), to be followed by that of Dr. Capart "Sur le totémisme égyptien." In the *Recherches de Science religieuse*, will be published the papers of Bouvier, "Sur la magie et le magisme," Cadière, "Sur la religion annamite," and Schmidt, "Sur le totémisme." Father Schmidt's papers "Sur l'histoire et la méthode de l'ethnologie" will appear in the *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*. It is intended to hold these congresses every two years, with a fixed and a variable section, the first being confined to the subjects treated in the meetings of 1912, the nature of the other being dictated by the progress of science or needs of time. The variable section will treat of the following new subjects Astral mythology in general (definition, species, diverse forms) among non-civilized peoples, among the Hindus, the Indo-Europeans in general, the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Egyptians; Islam: its prehistory, dogmas, morals, law, mysticism, sects and forms, cultural importance. As an exception it is intended to repeat the course in 1913 at Louvain.

71. *Definition of Folk-Lore.* In an article in *Volkskunde* (vol. 24, 1913, pp. 5-10), Dr. Jos. Schrijnen writes "Ter nadere bepaling van wezen en doel der volkskunde," reaching the conclusion that Folk-Lore is something more than mere amateurism, the collection of *curiosa*. It is a real science, capable of definition as "the systematic, rational investigation of the basis of culture."
72. *Egyptian "coffin-texts."* In his article on "Die ägyptische 'Sargtexte' und das 'Totenbuch,'" in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 66-85), G. Roeder treats of the "coffin-tests" of the Middle Kingdom,—i.e., texts put in with the dead to help them for the other world. Characteristic of many of these texts is the idea of metamorphosis into, or identification with, the gods on the part of the dead. In some texts the dead are represented as deserving the help of the god. Sometimes, even, there appears a threat to the gods, in case they do not fulfil the wishes of the dead, etc.
73. *Egyptian lucky days, etc.* In the same periodical (pp. 86-100), W. Wreszinski has an article on "Tagwählerei im alten Ägypten," in which he treats of lucky and unlucky days in ancient Egypt, as indicated in three calendars (all in the British Museum), the oldest of which, from Kahyun, dates from ca. 2,000 B. C. According to W., the week never played any rôle in these schemata, month and year only being significant. There are great differences as to individual days in the calendars. No political aspects, corresponding to that of the Roman state-calendar, are noted. It is thought that these calendars were of local, priestly origin, and grew up and extended quite slowly.

74. *Embalming*. In the *Revue anthropologique* (vol. 22, 1912, p. 452), H. Weisgerber has a brief notice of Dr. L. Reutter's recent book, *De l'embaumement avant et après Jésus-Christ*, in which the author gives the results of his analyses of the resinous masses used for preserving the body by the ancient Egyptians, Carthaginians, etc. The preservation of the human body by means of resinous or bituminous substances was known to the Egyptians, Jews, Carthaginians, Guanches of the Canary Is., the natives of the Island of Samos, etc., and Egyptian influence might account for all of these. In ancient America, mummies were preserved by dessication, although Reutter thinks he has discovered the use of resinous substance among the Incas. Dr. Reutter's book treats in detail modern as well as ancient methods of embalming and preserving the human body.
75. *Eskimo population in Greenland*. In the course of an interesting article on "Anthropogeographische Studien aus Grönland," in *Mitt. d. k. k. Geogr. Ges. in Wien* (vol. 56, 1913, pp. 247-237), Dr. M. C. Engell gives (p. 245) a table of the population of Greenland from 1723 to 1908, distributed, from the beginning of the 18th century down, according to the various settlements. In 1723 Egede estimated the total number of Eskimo in Greenland at 30,000, which by 1761 had been reduced to some 7,000 by epidemics of small-pox, etc., introduced by the Danes, etc.—in 1805 the lowest limit of 6,046 was reached, since which time there has been practically a constant increase, the number for 1908 being reckoned at 12,319, the native population having thus doubled itself in a century. The increase has, however, not been equal in the various settlements. This information concerning the increase of the native population in Greenland is very interesting considering the statement so commonly made that the American aborigines in every part of North America are in process of rapid disappearance. It is also something that redounds to the credit of the Danish authorities. As Dr. Engell points out, primitive peoples elsewhere have not always fared so well. In 1744 there were 20,000 Kamchadales, in 1850 not more than 2,000; and many American Indian peoples have suffered even more severely. Protection of the Eskimo from the further contamination of the white man should be carried on to the greatest extent possible. In 1893 the Europeans in Greenland numbered but 204, which is about the average since 1834,—it includes all the Danish officials, etc.
76. *Ethnic etymology run mad*. In the *Revue d'Exégèse Mythologique* (vol. 21, 1912, pp. 129-167), edited by the Abbé Fourrière, Curé of Moislains (Somme), is published the second part of an article entitled "Une andrologie ou l'homme Danite," in which the author maintains the following propositions: The Hebrew word *nin*, "posterity," has given rise to proper names (all over the earth) which seem to have the sense of "posterity of Dan;" the Hebrew word *is*, "man," has given rise to a great number of proper names relat-

ing to the Danites; the word *dan* has played an important rôle in the languages of countries inhabited by migrated Danites. This magnification of the Israelite *Dan* is a specimen of the very worst kind of *outré* etymologizing, which, it had been hoped, was dead for good. In this strange speculation *Nanaimo* and *Nantucket*, *Nicaragua* and *Nanay* are cheek by jowl with *Nuneaton* and *Nenndorf*, *Nanomea* and *Ningkuang*. In another article (pp. 185-192) on the "Origine du totémisme" the attempt is made to prove that "totemism goes back to the Danites, i.e., ancient inhabitants of the town of *Dan*, who emigrated from Palestine." The author regards the word totem (which has a well-known Algonkian origin) as merely a reduplication of the word *dan*. After this effort, we are not surprised to learn that the author has derived from the word *dan*, proper names, especially names of places, etc., to the following extent: Europe 838, Asia 78, Africa 110, America 72,—total 1,218; or that from the word *manos*, "flight" he succeeds in getting another 471.

78. *Ethnography and government*. In *Lares* (vol. 1, 1912, pp. 73-79), L. Loria has an article on "L'Etnografia strumento di politica interna e coloniale," in which he emphasizes the value of ethnographic knowledge for both domestic and colonial politics. The campaigns in Eritrea, the recent war with Turkey (here ethnology and acquaintance with the Arab and Turkish *psyche* would have helped much) are cited in proof of the need of such knowledge. The Italians of the north and those of south could also learn much that would help them better to understand each other. The northern and central Italians call all those south of Rome "Neapolitans,"—the great mass of the Piedmontese, Lombards and Venetians never think that there is any difference between the *psyche* of the natives of the Abruzzi and that of the Apulians. Nor do many know the great differences existing in Sicily itself,—between the Palermitans and Girgentans with bloody mafia, vendettas, etc., and the Syracusans to whom these things are unknown; and the mildness of the customs of the Messinians and the Syracusans is known to all Sicilians. In north and central Italy the opinion prevails that the south is altogether corrupt, an opinion false completely in so far as the "people" are concerned. The study of ethnography therefore should have not merely scientific objects, but social and national as well.

79. *Ethnology and history*. In a paper read before the First Italian Congress of Ethnography, held at Rome in October, 1911, of which an account is given in *Lares* (vol. 1, 1912, pp. 25-38), by Prof. A. Mochi, Angelo de Gubernatis treated of "L'Etnologia nella Storia," and in the discussion, "the legend that for Italy the Middle Ages represents a period of vast and intense foreign ethnic intrusions transforming decisively the composition of our people was once more destroyed" (p. 28).

80. *Ethnology of antiquity.* In *Anthropos* (1913, vol. 8, pp. 47-81) Dr. Carl Seyffert publishes a well-documented paper on the "Völkerkunde des Altertums," in which he *résumés* the data of an ethnological nature (opinions as to the origin, age, etc., of the human race; ideas concerning height and form of man, color of skin and hair, health, longevity, etc.; economic life; dwellings; dress and ornament; weapons; war-customs, etc.; industry trade, commerce; social relations; religion; death and burial rites; art and science) to be found in the writers of antiquity such as: Aristotle, Herodotus, Anaximander, Plato, Homer, Polybius, Hippocrates, Strabo, Arrian, Plutarch, Caesar, Sallust, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, etc. Among the items of a religious character reported by these ancient authorities are: Tree-cult in Media and Persia; stone-cult in Cyprus; fire-cult among the eastern Aryans, Hindus and Persians; star-cult of Persians; sun-cult of Massagetae; sun and moon cults of Libyans, Caucasians, Teutons, etc.; animal-cult of Egyptians; skull-cult and ancestor-cult of the Taurians; cult of the dead of the Massagetae; nightly rites of Celtiberians for nameless god; idea of immortality and doctrine of transmigration among Egyptians and Hindus, Gauls, etc.; magic and oracles of Egyptians, Scythians, Teutons, Gauls, etc.; offerings and sacrifices, with and without slaying of victims; human sacrifices reported from the Taurians, the Thracian Aspinthii, the Cimbri, Gauls, Teutons, Caucasians, etc. "Of methods of disposal of the dead human body are mentioned: Exposure in forest or in water, burning, eating up, preserving; inhumation, etc. It is interesting to find in Strabo a passage in which it is stated that among the Ethiopians there are some who are entirely godless, hating even the sun, and cursing it because it burns them.
- 81. *Fig-tree as child-god.* In *Man* (1913, vol. 13, pp. 4-6) M. W. H. Beech describes "The Sacred Fig-tree of the A-Kikuyu of East Africa." This is "the *mugumu*, a species of *Ficus* akin to the *capensis*." Sacrifices are made to it, and it is thought to help fertility and pregnancy. It is sometimes called "the child God," and God is said to dwell in the clouds above it; it is also the medium of prayers to God. There are no signs of ancestor-worship connected with it. The wood of the *mugumu* is used for the fire-drill.
- 82. *Fish-symbolism.* In his brief article, "Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer- und Fischsymbolik," in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 300-306), R. Eisler concludes that the New Testament figure of the fisher of men goes back to the Messianic passage in the Old Testament (Jer. 16: 6). See also the author's book, *Orpheus—the Fisher and the Messianic Fish-Symbolism of Primitive Christianity* (London, 1913).
- 83. *Gregorian calendar.* In the *Zeitschrift d. Ver. f. Volkskunde* (1913, vol. 23, pp. 81-88), D. Bothar publishes, from a Ms. in the library

of the Evangelical Lyceum at Oedenburg, the text of "Ein gereimter Dialog wider den Gregorianischen Kalender vom 1584." This curious dialogue against "the anti-Christian, papistical Gregorian New Calendar," represents what the simple Protestant peasantry thought of the innovation. It belongs with "Anti-Christ" literature.

84. *Herodotus and Mazdaism*. In his article, "Herodot als Zeuge für den Mazdaismus," in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 101-121), C. Clemen treats of the data in Herodotus concerning Persian Mazdaism. He reaches the conclusion that Herodotus and the older Greek historians were really acquainted with Mazdaism, and add something to our knowledge concerning it. Also that we have here proof of the pre-Christian character of certain Avesta ideas, etc.

85. *Hour-deities*. In the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 12, 1913, pp. 100-131), W. Gundel treats at some length the question of "Stundengötter," *horae*, etc. Anciently the Greeks and Romans seem not to have possessed such personified "hour-beings" or lords of fixed hours of day or night. There did exist in the vocabulary an old word for expressing the hour-idea, but it had originally nothing to do with the "hour" in our sense,—“the idea of mathematically dividing and limiting the day by means of fixed portions of time did not arise in the Occident, but is rather an Oriental invention.” The "planetary hours," due to astrology, are considered on pages 104-127. The hour-cycle really belongs to Asia, and in later astrological mysticism and mythological interpretation many curious conglomerates appeared.

86. *Indian in European folk-lore*. In the *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volkskunde* (1912, vol. 16, pp. 237-242), S. Meier describes "Der Eieraufleset in Dinkton, Aargau." This "egg-gathering" is performed annually on "Red Sunday" (2d after Easter) by the Protestant population,—thirty or more years ago it was performed here and there also by Catholics. One of the "Böhli" who figure in this performance is "dressed like an Indian, with a tomahawk at his belt."

87. *Karens of Burma*. In the *Revue anthropologique* (vol. 23, 1913, pp. 172-186), the Abbé H. Kromer, former missionary in Burma, gives an account of the "Us et coutumes des Cariens," who are found scattered from the Chinese frontier to the Bay of Bengal, and from the mountains of Arakan to the banks of the Meinam, their chief habitat, however being in the hill-country between the Rivers Salwin and Sittong,—the mission of Tongoo is about the center. These interesting people have already been described by various writers, such, e.g., as Mrs. Mason, *Civilizing Mountain Men* (London, 1862), Smeaton, *The Loyal Karen* (Lond., 1886). Both Catholic and Protestant missionaries have been at work among the Karens, with considerable

success, and their civilization is going on apace. Abbé Kromer treats of religious traditions (creation, idea of God, etc.), superstitions (evil spirits, ceremony, shamans and "magicians," soul-lore, etc.), family life (marriage ceremonies), social, moral and material life. The idea of the corporeal form of God entertained by the Karens is borrowed, the author thinks, from the Buddhistic Burmese. They believe in the existence of two souls, one called *kala* and the other *tha*. The *kala* soul exists independently of man (as a sort of protective spirit), before life, and before the *kha* for whose existence it is a prerequisite,—separation of the *kala* from the *kha* leads to death. There are innumerable superstitious practices whose aim is to prevent the *kala* from leaving the body or to recall it. Dreams and nightmares come from the *kala*. The Karens generally have recourse to Burmese "magicians." Divorce is hardly known among the Karens, who marry very early and remain faithful until death.

88. *Legend-motifs in Rabbinical literature.* In his article on "Legenden-motive in der rabbinischen Literatur," in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 160-175), A. Marmorstein treats of such legend-motifs as the following occurring in Rabbinical literature: Asmodeus, etc.

Animals in legend (very old or immortal animals; speaking and reasoning animals; animal guides; invulnerable wild animals, etc.; wicked persons changed into animals).

Birth and childhood of Biblical personages, etc.

Miracles of conception, omens of birth, etc. (Abraham, Moses, etc.).

Pious persons and Satan (appearances, metamorphoses, temptation).

Walking and traveling in the air (Eliezer, Jacob, Abisai, etc.).

89. "Little Italies." The Italian sections in many of the cities, etc., of the United States have begun to figure in the programmes of European scientific meetings. At the First Italian Congress of Ethnography, held at Rome in October, 1911 (see *Lares*, vol. 1, 1912, p. 35), Amy A. Bernardy presented a paper on the "Etnografia delle Piccole Italie," pointing out the survivals in dress, houses, utensils, domestic industries, etc., of Italian local characteristics in America. And Prof. Baldasseroni discussed the subject "Come si devono studiare gli usi e i costum i dei nostri emigrati,"—how far do our emigrants preserve their national customs and how easily do they accept foreign influences? Among what peoples is adaptation easiest? After what time do changes occur? Are northern or southern Italians more tenacious of their habits and customs?

90. *May-pole in 16th-18th centuries.* In the *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk.* (1912, vol. 16, pp. 245-246), H. Dübi has a brief article, "Älteres

über das Maibaumpflanzen," citing items referring to the planting of the "May-pole," the dance associated with it, etc., from clerical May-songs of the 16th century, from the *Novelle Galanti di Giambatista Casti* (Milano, 1802), and from the Lucerne *Wochenblatt* of 1784.

91. *Nemean lion*. In the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 309-313), N. Terzaghi writes "Ueber die Unverwundbarkeit des nemeischen Löwen." He opposes the view of Berthold that the idea of the lion's invulnerability is of rather late origin, holding that already in the time of Pindar the skin of the Nemean lion was looked on as invulnerable.

92. *Oak and thunder-god*. In his article on "The Oak and the Thunder-God," in the *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft* (1913, vol. 16, pp. 317-320), W. W. Fowler discusses Frazer's treatment of this topic, in *The Golden Bough* (3d ed., 1911), and argues from the fact that recent German forestry reports indicate that the oak is very frequently struck by lightning, as compared with the fir, beech, etc., that we have here an easily explanation of its sacred character. The oak was abundant in prehistoric Europe, and the observation of the fact just mentioned would afford a natural explanation for the connection in mythology and religion between the oak and thunder. This is, however, not the first time that such an explanation has been suggested.

93. *Realism in art*. In an article in the *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris* (VIe S., vol. 3, 1912, pp. 345-371), M. Gaston Gaillard discusses "Le réalisme chez les artistes anciens," treating particularly of anatomical type and sex. The old artists gave us "a really scientific and superior esthetic conception of the human type," quite different from the artificial *petite femme*, and the modern *fetishism* and "sexual *détournement*," which create an artificial sexual excitation, foreign altogether to what makes physical beauty, and constitutes its natural and living charm and supreme quality.

94. *Religion of Cora Indians*. In his review in the *Journ. de la Soc. des Amér. de Paris* (vol. 10, N. S., 1913, pp. 257-264) of Dr. K. T. Preuss's *Die Nayarit-Expedition. Textaufnahmen und Beobachtungen unter Mexikanischen Indianern*. . . . Bd. I. *Die Religion der Cora-Indianer in Texten nebst Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1912, pp. 503), Ch. A. Martin cites freely from the Introduction concerning the fundamental religious and mythological ideas of these Mexican Indians, studied by Dr. Preuss in his expedition of 1906 under the auspices of the Prussian Kultusminister and the Loubat Professorial Foundation, particularly in their relations to corresponding ancient Nahuatl phenomena. Ideas of light and darkness, night and water, fire and water as representing astral deities, the land of fertility ("ter-

restrial paradise"), travels of the gods in heaven and on earth, development of the celestial world and its phases; the three chief divinities (the sun-god, *Tayáu*, "Our Father;" the earth and moon goddess, *Tatéx*, "Our Mother;" morning and evening star-god), special deities and gods of the cardinal points, scene of festivals and sacred gourd, festivals, relations between ceremonies and songs, religious spirit, attributes and practices of magic, etc. The Coras do not regard the light of day and the sun as simply one and the same thing,—they distinguish the great eagle representing the light of day, the luminous heavens and the sun. Similar relations are thought to exist between the night and the moon. Water and darkness are practically identical. They believe also that the night-deities serve as food for the morning sun, but he has first to conquer them, hence "daily war in the sky," which is described in great detail. In the festivals, ancestral spirits, added to the nature-deities play an important rôle. The religion of these Indians deserves careful psychological study and analysis.

95. *Rhythm-changes in folk-songs.* In the *Zeitschrift d. Ver. f. Volkskunde* (1913, vol. 23, pp. 75-80), O. Stückrath has an article on "Rhythmisches Zersingen von Volksliedern. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis unseres Volksgesanges," in which he discusses with numerous examples (S. has collected texts and music of folk-songs in Taunus and Westerwald), the interesting phenomenon of changes in rhythm due to the use of songs for marching, or for dancing, etc., which were originally used for other purposes. Gessmann, in his *Das Volkslied im Luzerner Wiggertal und Hinterland* (Basel, 1906), noted this phenomenon, but did not discuss it.
96. *Sardinia and Africa.* In the *Rivista Italiana di Sociologia* (1911, pp. 36-45), R. Pettazzoni writes of "Ordalie sarde e ordalie africane," citing the prevalence in certain parts of Africa of an ordeal corresponding exactly to the bathing of the eyes with holy water, reported by Solinus as accompanying in Sardinia the oath of one accused of theft and denying it. The African littoral of the Mediterranean is a sort of intermediary "between Sardinia and the Gulf of Guinea,"—the author thinks it possible that intercourse between southern and northern Africa in remote times has been greater than is generally believed. Ancient primitive Libyan culture has played a considerable rôle here. The modern customs, etc., of the Berbers, Kabyles, and Tuaregs are worth studying for the light they can shed in these matters.
97. *Schoetensack (O.).* In the death of Dr. Otto Schoetensack (1849-1912), on the 23d of last December, Germany has lost one of the most interesting of her anthropological investigators and speculative men of science. In the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* in 1901, Schoetensack published a very suggestive article setting forth the rôle of

Australia in the development of man from a lower animal form, and maintaining the theory that the Australian continent was really the primitive home of mankind and the scene of evolution from pre-human ancestors. With Klaatsch, Alsberg and others, Schoetensack believed that "our non-human forefather" would never have become man, had he kept to the *Urwald*, and that it was only the "mixture of wooded and steppe country, found in Australia," that made possible the development of a creature unlike the one-sided gorilla, orang, chimpanzee and gibbon. His manysidedness was a factor in the making of man. As noted in this Journal (vol. 5, 1912, p. 251), Dr. H. Klaatsch, following the lead of Schoetensack's theory, has discussed the importance of the ideas of the Australian aborigines concerning death, etc., for the evolution of religion in the human race.

98. *School-parodies*. Germany, no more than America, is exempt from school-parodies, as H. E. Müller points out, in his article, "Parodien aus der Schule," in *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 12, 1913, pp. 132-139). Examples are given from Munich, Eickel (in Westphalia), etc. The chief songs parodied are naturally those sung in the school exercises, such as: "Hinaus in die Ferne," "Blaue Luft, Frühlingsduft," "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," "O Tannenbaum," "Wem Gott will rechte Gunst erwiesen," etc. One of the parodies of "Hinaus in die Ferne" runs as follows:

"Hinaus in die Ferne
mit Butterbrot und Speck,
das mag ich so gerne,
das nimmt mir keiner weg.
Und wer das tut,
den hau ich um die Schnut,
den hau ich um die Nase,
dass sie blut."

For "Heil dir im Siegerkranz" we find:

"Heil dir im Siegerkranz
Pukantüffeln und Heringsschwanz
Ei dat smeckt fein usw."

The author desires to obtain specimens of such parodies from all over Germany. These parodies by school-children have not been studied so much as have other varieties.

99. "Spinning-wheel speeches." In the *Schweiz. Archiv f. Volkskunde* (1913, vol. 17, pp. 59-62), H. Volkart gives texts of two "Kunkel-sprüche" from the Canton of Thurgau,—one by a maiden in honor of a girl friend, the other by a youth to his sweetheart. These "speeches" were often addressed by youths to maidens of their choice. After being neatly written out, they were tied to the spinning-wheel, whence the name.

100. *Survival of "bull-roarer" in Italy.* In *Lares* (vol. 1, 1912, pp. 63-72), the organ of the Italian Ethnographical Society (Rome), Raffaele Pettazzoni treats of "Soppravvivenze del rombo in Italia." The evolved *rombo* of the *Waldteufel* type still exists in Italy,—it is described by Prof. V. Puntoni from Pisa in the country of Tuscany under the name *cicala*; and the primitive form had already been noticed by Pitrè in Sicily, where it is called *lapuni* (or "great bee"). Another Italian name is *frullo*, from its noise resembling that of certain insects, etc. Professor Pettazzoni proposes to make a thorough-going investigation of the survival of the "bull-roarer" in Italy.
101. *Turcomans of Stavropol, N. Caucasia.* In a brief article in the *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris* (VIe S., vol. 3, 1912, pp. 161-163), M. Farfarowsky treats of "Les Turcomans du Gouvernement de Stavropol (Nord Caucase)." These Turcomans, settled on the river Kuma, came originally (17th century) from Khiva, but had dwelt a long time *en route* on the Caspian,—they seem to have been mixed up with the movements of the Kalmucks. They are Sunnite Musulmans and very ceremonialistic. They know little of the dogmas of their religion, and the *mollahs*, of which there are only 30, differ little from the other Turcomans. They have a good deal of lyric and epic poetry, and their songs recall the nomad hordes, who were once the nightmare of Europe.
102. "Unburnable" books. In the 16th and 17th centuries in Germany, the Catholic authorities were anxious to destroy Protestant books of devotion, and therefore committed as many as possible of them to the flames. A famous book of its kind was Johann Arndt's *Paradies Gärtlein* (1612) of whose preservation through fire and water wonderful tales were told. In the *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde* (vol. 12, 1913, pp. 143-146), B. Schreiner reprints from the *Hessische Hebeopfer theol. u. philol. Anmerk.* (Giessen, 1740) Pastor Justus Geilfusius' account of the rescue of this book unharmed from the fire, into which it had been thrown by a soldier, and where it remained unhurt, until rescued from the red-hot coals by the hostess of the inn. The worthy pastor informs us that the hostess, finding the book altogether uninjured as to leather, paper, gold and ribbons, said to her daughter, who was with her in the kitchen:
"Now, dear children, as God saved the three men in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar, so has He also miraculously preserved this little book in the fire. Therefore, let us stand firmly by God's Word, from which this book was taken."
The book is said to have been in the flames at least an hour and a half. It was ultimately deposited in the Library of Prince Philip at Butzbach. The soldier, we learn, died some time after, a raving madman.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Ababdes,	404	America, South	405, 406, 408, 411
Ababua,	402	American Indians: <i>passim</i> ,	1-49;
Abandonment of aged,	365	126, 134, 209, 262, 263, 265, 269,	
Abistanaooh,	11	272, 300, 301, 308, 309, 311;	
Absence of reproach,	349	<i>passim</i> , 321-374; <i>passim</i> ,	375-421
Absence of a theory of menstruation,	384, 385	American negroes,	79, 318
Absence of "puberty-ceremonies,"	404, 405	American psychologists,	201
Abyssinians,	393, 409	American religious song-ballads,	103
Adam,	62	Amulets,	103, 108
Adolescence and religion,	124-148	Analysis of religious conceptions,	113, 123
Adolescent girl among primitive,	375-421	Ancestral images in China,	111, 123
Adventists,	23	Ancient East,	78, 95
Affection for children,	366-367	Ancient society,	204
Affection for parents,	364, 365	Andamanese,	407
Affiliations, church,	178, 183	Andres Chi,	40
Africa,	404, 405, 406, 409	Angakoks,	358
African negroes, 97, 254, 259, 261, 262,	263, 265, 309; <i>passim</i> ,	Angels,	15, 26, 78
After-birth in folk-lore,	212	Animals,	412
After-life,	193, 195, 313	Anismism,	213
Agriculture,	412	Anizetti,	46
Ahoms,	404	Annamese,	404
Ahts,	410	d'Annunzio, G.,	312
A-Kamba,	398, 409	Anointing,	412
A-Kikuyu,	398, 409	"Antagonism" of city and country,	279, 293
Ainu first man,	95	Anthropology,	205, 314
Aivacaipu,	46	Anthropology and evolution,	223-237
Akkra,	408	Anthropophagy,	367-368
Alaskan Indians,	101	Antonine cross,	108
Albanian folk-lore,	220	Anyanya,	398, 405, 406
Albanian women,	96	Anyasa,	404
Albinism,	263	Apache,	7, 39, 219, 410
Alcoholism,	82	A'piatan,	37
Aleuts,	397	Apostles,	67, 172
Algonkian Indians, 4, 9-12, 19-23, 24,	250, 388, 400, 409, 410	Arapaho,	32, 38
<i>Alien</i> ,	285	Arapáso,	46
Alliance, Christian,	30	Arawaks,	47, 408
"Aloes,"	307	Art,	42, 91, 309
Alphabet, formation of	304	Arthurian legend,	316
Amazon,	308	Arunta,	410
America, North	405, 406, 407, 410	Aryan culture in Asia Minor,	95
		Asexual type of theory of menstruation,	383
		Ashanti,	399, 405

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ash in folk-lore, | 299 | Bawenda, | 406 |
| Ashluslays, | 390-406 | Beating, | 412 |
| Asia, | 95, 99, 404, 405, 406, 409 | Bechuana, | 404, 409 |
| Assiniboine, | 20, 402, 407 | Behavior, | 241, 242 |
| Assyrians, | 316 | Behavior, good, of children, | 363 |
| Astrology, | 412 | Belief, | 88 |
| Athapaskans, | 25, 27, 101, 400 | Benevolence, | 360 |
| Atlantis, | 443 | Bengal, folk-tales of, | 210 |
| Australasia, 40, 134-136, 219, 252, | | Bergson, H., | 206 |
| 258-260, 315, 404, 405, 406, 410 | | Biank'i, | 38 |
| Australians, 339, 387, 394, 407, 410, 421 | | Bible, | 4, 61, 251, 279, 307 |
| Authority of Jesus, | 149, 174 | Bibliography of H. Bergson, | 206 |
| Archeology, American, | 104 | Binding, | 412 |
| Archeology, Chinese, | 91 | Biology, | 224, 227, 228, 234-236, 309 |
| Archeology, Egyptian, | 304 | Birth, | 290, 335 |
| Archeology, European, 105, 207, | | Blackfeet, | 20, 405 |
| 307, 311, 317 | | Blacksmith in primitive thought, | 97 |
| Architecture, Siamese religious, | 319 | Blood, | 412 |
| Ark of Noah, | 83 | Blood-revenge, | 345-347 |
| Armenians, | 56, 96 | Blue color and religious ideas, | 98 |
| Augustine, St., | 294 | Body and soul, | 78 |
| Aymaras, | 301 | Bolivia, | 399 |
| Aztecs, | 222 | Bondei, | 393, 409 |
| Baal-Peor, | 130 | Bontoc Igorot, | 3, 4, 384, 388, 404 |
| Babines, | 25 | Books, censorship of, | 84 |
| Babylon, | 130, 306 | Borneo, | 101 |
| Bacchanalia, | 128 | Bosnia-Herzegovina, | 319 |
| Bacchus, | 127, 129 | Boundary-cult of ancient Rome, | 213 |
| Backward children, | 208 | Boys, ethical ideas of, | 75 |
| "Bad" city, | 292 | Boys, preference for, | 361, 362 |
| Bafioté, | 406 | Boys, religious ideas of, | 52 |
| Bag, | 412 | Brahman, | 140 |
| Baganda, | 385, 392, 405 | Brain-development, | 435 |
| "Balanced type," | 53 | Brazil, | 126, 390, 399 |
| Bakango, | 302 | Break-down of ancient Eskimo | |
| Balkans, civilization of, | 96 | religion, | 343 |
| Balladry in America, | 103 | Breaking of dishes, | 412 |
| Ballads, | 441 | "Breath of life," | 213 |
| Bumangwato, | 406 | Breffny, folk-tales of, | 204 |
| Bambuk, | 409 | Bride, | 412 |
| Baniva, | 411 | "Bride-flight," | 443 |
| Banks Id., | 252 | British Guiana, | 44, 399 |
| Bantu, | 384, 393, 404, 405, 409 | Broom superstitions, | 98 |
| Bantu star-names, | 309 | Bronze age, | 207 |
| Baptists, | 28, 183, 189, 193 | Buddhism, | 123, 141, 149, 275 |
| Barla'am and Josaphat, | 275 | Buffalo-robe, | 412 |
| Basuto, | 409 | "Bull-roarer," | 252, 454 |
| Bathing, | 412 | Bulu, | 261 |
| | | Burying, | 412 |

Bushmen,	243	Chinese archeology and religion,	91
Bushido,	107	Chinese books,	439
		Chinese sarcophagi,	214
Cain, mark of,	279, 293	Chippewa, see Ojibwa,	
Caiary-Vaupè's,	46	Chiriguano,	399, 408
Cambodians,	385, 407, 408	Chorotis,	390
Canadian Iroquois,	17, 18	Chow period,	118
Candelaria, Maria,	42, 43	Christian belief,	168
Candles,	412	Christian civilization,	78
Can-Ek, J.,	43	Christian symbols,	79
Canella Indians,	99	Christianity, 66, 74, 78, 79, 80, 89,	
Cannibalism,	367, 368, 412	140, 142, 148-173, 282	
Canute,	267	Christianity and social relation-	
Capital punishment,	345	ship,	78
Capping,	412	Christmas-plays of children,	443
Caribs,	408, 411	Christo, V.,	47
Carrier Indians,	25, 27, 396, 398, 410	Chumash,	405
Carts, prehistoric,	105	Churchos,	411
" Catching the moon,"	213	Church affiliations,	178, 179, 183, 184
Catholicism,	3, 35	Church, origin of Christian,	66, 74
Cave-epoch,	231	Cicatrization,	413
Ceram Laut,	404	Circumcision,	387, 413
Chamars,	405	Citizenship,	413
Chams,	394, 407	City,	287
Chane,	408	City and country, " antagonism "	
Change of religious views,, 182,		of,	279-293
183, 185, 189		City, wickedness of,	279-293
Character, Christian,	156	Civil,	287
Character, human,	157	Civility,	349
Character of Jesus,	149-174	Civilization,	287
Charms,	412	Civilization of Balkans,	96
Chauvinism,	106	Classification of novels,	84
Checheb,	43	Clay,	413
Chedans,	389, 394, 404	Clergy,	290
Cherokee,	23	Clothes,	413
Cheyenne,	32, 407	Clouds,	413
Child,	412	Club-house,	413
Child and parent,	360, 367	Cochin tribes and castes, <i>pas-</i>	
Child, conservation of,	208	<i>sim</i> ,	375-421
Child-birth,	335	" Coffin-texts," Egyptian,	445
Children	360, 367, 412	College students, religion of,	175-195
Children, ethical ideas of,	75, 76	Columbia University,	206
Children, good-behavior of,	363	<i>Commonwealth</i> ,	288
Children, religious ideas of,	249, 251	Conception of evil,	332
Children's Christmas-plays,	443	Congress of religious ethnology,	444
Children, illegitimate,	291	Confession,	335-339
China, praying-mantis in,	317	Confucius,	77, 99, 112, 149
Chinese,	407	Consciousness, religious,	50-58
Chinese ancestral tablets,	111, 123	Consecration,	413

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Conservation of child, | 208 | Datekân, | 36 |
| Conservatism, | 332, 341 | Dead, the, | 194 |
| Constab ballads, | 96 | Dead bodies, | 338 |
| Contact of races, | 60 | Death, | 335, 413 |
| Contemporary philosophy, | 77 | Death, personification, | 220 |
| Contrasts, racial, | 297 | Deception, | 355 |
| Conversion, | 144, 181 | Decoration, | 413 |
| Cooking, | 413 | Definition of folk-lore, | 449 |
| Coos, | 397 | Deflowering, | 130 |
| Cora Indians, religion of, | 451 | Degeneracy, | 81 |
| Cords, | 413 | Delawares, | 9-11, 399 |
| Corn, spirits of, | 79 | Deluge- myths, | 80, 106 |
| Cornplanter, | 15 | Demons, | 413 |
| Coroados, | 408 | Déné, | 388, 410 |
| Country, | 288 | Denominational churches, | 181, 182 |
| Country and city, "antagonism" | | Depilation, | 413 |
| of, | 279-293 | Desire for offspring, | 362 |
| Courage, | 165, 354 | Devangas, | 392, 407 |
| "Couvade," | 99 | Development of ancestral images | |
| Cow, veneration of, | 216 | in China, | 111-123 |
| Coyote, | 250 | Devil in folk-lore, | 217 |
| Credit, | 356 | "Devil's Paradise," | 308 |
| Cree, | 20, 405 | Devotional readings, | 296 |
| Creeks, | 22, 407 | Diegueños, | 410, 421 |
| Cremation, | 117 | Disgrace, | 413 |
| Crime, | 290, 293, 345, 347 | Dishes, | 413 |
| Criticism, modern and church, | 66-74 | Disinclination to dispute, | 350 |
| Cross, tau, | 108 | Disposal of booty of chase, | 371-372 |
| Cross river natives, | 399, 409 | Disputes, | 350 |
| Crowd, | 287 | Doctrine of evolution and anthro- | |
| Crow, | 39, 405 | pology, | 223, 237 |
| Crowning, | 413 | <i>Documents humains,</i> | 175 |
| de la Cruz, J., | 43 | Dogmatism, | 239 |
| Cultural phenomena, | 223-239 | Dog-sacrifice, | 47 |
| Cultural theory, | 223-237 | Dramatic art, | 413 |
| Culture, Aryan in Asia Minor, | 94 | Drawing, | 413 |
| Culture, Eskimo, ethical phases | | "Dreamers," | 38 |
| of, | 321-374 | Dreams, | 413 |
| Culture, human, | 223-237 | Dress, | 413 |
| Culture-hero, | 4 | Drinking-reed, | 413 |
| Culture-history and history, | 99 | Druids, | 203 |
| Cults of Ostia, | 307 | Drunkenness, | 10, 14, 15, 21, 24 |
| Curiosity, | 341 | Dynamic spirit, | 213 |
| Custom and morality, | 331, 332 | Dynamism, | 241 |
| Cutting, | 413 | | |
| Dance, 11, 25, 28, 27, 30, 31, | | Ear, | 413 |
| 413, see Ghost-dance, | | East, | 413 |
| Darwinism and anthropology, | 223 | East, Ancient, light from, | 78, 95 |
| | | Easter I., | 404 |

- | | | | |
|--|----------|---|-----------------------|
| Eastern Is. of Torres Sts., | 404 | Experience, religious, | 88 |
| Economic principle of Confucius, | 77 | Expulsion, | 413 |
| Economic system of Eskimo, | 368-369 | External mark of social maturity, | 388, 391 |
| Eden, garden of, | 83, 279 | | |
| Education, | 83 | Face, | 414 |
| Egyptian "coffin-texts," | 445 | Fairy-tales, wanderings of Euro-
pean, | 221 |
| Egyptian hieroglyphs, | 304 | Faith, Olot, | 3 |
| Egyptian lucky days, | 445 | Faith, Supalado, | 3 |
| Egyptians, | 78, 406 | Faithfulness, | 356 |
| Elements of character, | 153 | <i>Family</i> , | 285 |
| Embalming, | 446 | Family, | 328-329 |
| Emotion, | 165 | Fang, | 263 |
| Endo-speaking tribes, | 392, 405 | Fasting, | 414 |
| English education, | 196 | Fatherhood of God, | 153 |
| English witchcraft, | 87 | Fattening, | 414 |
| Environment, | 326, 342 | Faust, | 313 |
| Eravallans, | 407 | Fear, | 263 |
| Eroticism and religion, | 59-65 | Feasting, | 414 |
| Eskimo, 12-14, 29, 127, 269, 321-
374, 401, 402, 405, 406, 408, 410 | | Feathers, | 414 |
| Eskimo culture, ethical phases of, | 321, 374 | Feeble-mindedness, | 81 |
| Eskimo, "new religions" among,
12, 14, 29 | | Feeling, | 240 |
| Eskimo population of Greenland, | 446 | Fellowfeeling with animals, | 352 |
| Essence of religion, 177, 182, 191-193 | | Fertility of Eskimo women, | 360 |
| Esthetic aspects of "puberty cere-
monies," | 420 | Fijian religion, | 313 |
| Ethical ideas of children, | 75-76 | Fijians, | 4, 258, 388, 404, 420 |
| Ethical phases of Eskimo culture,
321-374 | | Fig-tree as child-god, | 448 |
| Ethics, | 158-162 | Fish-symbols, | 448 |
| Ethnic etymology, | 446 | Fire, | 139, 414 |
| "Ethnocentrism," | 332-334 | Firewood, | 414 |
| Ethnography and government, | 447 | First man, Ainu, | 95 |
| Ethnology and history, | 447 | Flight, | 263 |
| Ethnology of antiquity, | 448 | Flight of bride, | 443 |
| Euahlayi, | 264 | Florida Indians, | 252 |
| European fairy-tales, wanderings
of, | 221 | Folger, Mrs., | 62 |
| Evangalists, | 152 | <i>Folk</i> , | 288 |
| Evidence for supernatural, | 80 | Foeticide, | 367 |
| Evolution and anthropology, 223-237 | | Folk-lore, after-birth in, | 212 |
| Evolution, human, 223-237, 435, 440 | | Folk-lore, ash in, | 219 |
| Evolution of metallurgy, | 311 | Folk-lore, devil in, | 217 |
| Evil, conception of, | 332 | Folk-lore, Vergil in, | 221 |
| Ewe, | 404, 405 | Folk-lore, Scandinavian, | 273 |
| Exhortation, | 413 | Folk-songs of negroes, | 79 |
| Existence after death, | 195 | Folk-tales of Bengal, | 210 |
| | | Folk-tales of Breffny, | 204 |
| | | Folk-wit, | 102, 303 |
| | | Food, | 414 |
| | | Food-songs, | 414 |

- | | | | |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Food-taboos, | 339, 414 | Guardian spirits, | 101, 414 |
| <i>Foreigner</i> , | 284 | Guatemala, | 43 |
| Formation of alphabet, | 304 | Guests, | 414 |
| Foxes, | 271, 407 | Guiana Indians, | 44-46, 318 |
| Fright, | 265 | | |
| Fritz Reuter, | 303 | Habakkuk, | 12 |
| Future life, | 193, 194 | Haida, | 26, 407, 410 |
| | | Hair, | 415 |
| Gai'wu religion, | 17 | <i>Hamlet</i> , | 285 |
| Gallas, | 409 | Handsome Lake, | 14 |
| Gambling, | 15, 35 | "Happy hunting-grounds," | 101 |
| Ganio' dai'u, | 17 | Head, | 415 |
| Garden of Eden, | 83, 279 | Head-men, | 335 |
| Gaspesian Indians, | 12 | Heathen, | 282 |
| <i>Legend</i> , | 288 | Heaven in folk-wit, | 102 |
| Genetic theory of puberty, | 377, 378 | Heaven of warriors, | 101 |
| <i>Gens</i> , | 282 | Hebrew symbols, | 79 |
| <i>Gentes</i> , | 282 | <i>Hedge</i> , | 284 |
| <i>Gentile</i> , | 282 | Hell in folk-wit, | 102 |
| <i>Gentle</i> , | 282 | Hereafter, | 195 |
| <i>Gentleman</i> , | 282 | Heredity of feeble-mindedness, | 81 |
| Geography of Homer, | 314 | Herodotus and Mazdaism, | 494 |
| Geography of Islam, | 209 | Hieroglyphs, | 305 |
| Ghost-dance, <i>passim</i> , | 5-44 | High Wolf, | 37 |
| Gifts, | 414 | Hindus, | 80, 386, 399, 409 |
| Girl "prophets," | 2, 40, 41 | Historical theory of human cul- | |
| Girls, | 414 | ture, | 223-237 |
| Gluskap, | 4, 250 | Historicity of Jesus, | 79 |
| God, 2, 11, 31, 47, 55, 59, 65, 70, 91 | | History and culture-history, | 99 |
| God, Fatherhood of, | 74, 153 | History and ethnology, | 447 |
| God, kingdom of, | 61 | History of psychology, | 201 |
| Gods, | 414 | <i>Hive</i> , | 287 |
| Gola-Mendi, | 393, 406 | Holiday, | 415 |
| "Golden age," | 47 | <i>Home</i> , | 285 |
| Gomez, | 41 | Homeric geography, | 314 |
| Good-behavior of children, | 363 | <i>Homestead</i> , | 285 |
| Good faith, | 354-359 | Homicide, | 352, 354 |
| "Good old days," | 47 | <i>Homo faber</i> , | 314 |
| Gospels, | 68, 151 | <i>Homo religiosus</i> , | 314 |
| Gran Chaco tribes, | 406 | <i>Homo sapiens</i> , | 205 |
| Grass, | 414 | Hoshshahhohh, | 16 |
| Grasshopper in folk-lore, | 103 | Hopi, | 406 |
| Gratitude, | 359-360 | <i>Hostis</i> , | 284 |
| Graeco-Latins, | 297 | Hottentots, | 406 |
| Graeco-Romans, | 78 | <i>House</i> , | 285 |
| "Great Spirit," | 5, 9, 10, 15, 18, 45 | House, | 415 |
| Greeks, | 128, 162, 280 | House-mates, | 329, 330 |
| Greenland, Eskimo population of, | 446 | <i>Hoyden</i> , | 284 |
| Gregorian calendar, | 448 | Huichol, | 405, 406 |

- | | | | |
|--|---------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Human character, | 157, 166 | Jacinto Can-ek, | 43 |
| Human conduct, | 160 | Jack Wilson, | 30 |
| Human evolution, | 223-237, 435, 440 | Jade, | 91 |
| Human nature, science of, | 80 | Jamaican Negroes, | 86 |
| Humor of Low German folk, | 303 | James I and English witchcraft, | 87 |
| Hunting psychosis, | 333 | Japanese, | 106, 107, 299 |
| Hupa, | 407 | Japanese books, | 439 |
| | | Jesus, | 4, 44, 46, 79, 166 |
| Icáñas, | 46, 411 | Jesus, authority of, | 149-174 |
| Ideas, ethical, of children, | 75, 76 | Jew, Wandering, | 221 |
| Ideas, religious, | 50-58, 175, 194 | Jews, | 62, 68, 130, 163, 278, 389, 409 |
| Igorots, | 3, 4, 384, 388, 404 | Joking, | 415 |
| Ilfirna, | 410 | Juan de la Cruz, | 43 |
| Illegitimacy, | 290 | Judaism, "super-man" in, | 220 |
| Imagery, mental, | 54, 55 | Juggling, | 415 |
| Images, ancient, in China, | 111-123 | Justice, | 164 |
| Imitation, | 342 | Justice and mercy, | 351-352 |
| Immortality, | 183, 185, 193, 195 | | |
| Incest, | 294 | Kadans, | 404 |
| Indian in European folk-lore, | 449 | Kadupattans, | 386, 410 |
| Indians, American, <i>passim</i> , 1-49, | | Kafirs, 126, 259, 262, 393, 394, 404, 409 | |
| | 321-374, 375-427 | Kakkalans, | 394, 410 |
| Indians, "new religions" among | 1-49 | Kalabits, | 404 |
| Indian Messiah, | 5, 46 | "Kallikak family," | 81 |
| Indo-Germans, | 300 | Kalmucks, | 1 |
| Indonesia | 400, 405, 406, 410 | "Kalmuck prophet," | 1 |
| Inductive study of religious con- | | Kamchatkans, | 410 |
| sciousness, | 50-58 | Kamerun, | 260 |
| Infanticide, | 365, 366 | Kammalans, | 394, 410 |
| Infibulation, | 415 | Kanakuk, | 24 |
| Initiation, | 415 | Kaniyans, | 394 |
| <i>Innuít</i> , | 332 | Kansas City, | 143 |
| Instinct of invention, | 235 | Karajá, | 406 |
| Instinct of sociability, | 388 | Karens, | 449 |
| Instruction, | 415 | Kayans, | 404 |
| Insurrections, religious, | 40, 42 | Kenosis, | 70 |
| Intermediate degree of attention | | Kenotic theory, | 70 |
| to puberty, | 406-408 | Khasis, | 404 |
| Interpretation of religious experi- | | Kentucky, | 144 |
| ence, | 88 | Kickapoos, | 24, 38, 408 |
| Intoxicants, | 415 | Kindness, | 363 |
| Introcision, | 416 | Kilimandjaro, | 404 |
| Inventiveness, | 227, 235, 342 | King Richard Coeur de Lion, | 273 |
| Iron, | 97 | "Kingdom," | 63 |
| Iron age, | 207 | Kingdom of God, | 70 |
| Iroquois, | 14, 19, 408 | Kiowa, | 35-39 |
| Iroquois, pagan, | 18 | Kirghiz, | 1 |
| Islam, | 209 | Kitksos, | 26 |
| Izhuvans, | 407 | Klamath, | 406 |

- | | | | |
|--|---------------|--|-------------------------|
| Kneeling, | 415 | Magic, "Obeah," | 100 |
| Knots, | 415 | Maidu, | 389, 397, 406, 408, 410 |
| Koita, | 384, 404 | Maker, children's idea of, | 249 |
| Kordofan, | 409 | Malay Peninsula, | 388, 404 |
| Koreans, | 388, 410, 420 | Malays, | 410 |
| 'Kwes, | 26 | Man and his forerunners, | 440 |
| | | Man of to-day, | 442 |
| Labrets, | 415 | Manabozho, | 4, 20 |
| <i>Laity</i> , | 289 | Mandingo, | 409 |
| Lalawethika, | 19 | Management, school, | 83 |
| "Land of Lyonesse," | 316 | Manipur, | 389 |
| Language, | 280, 415 | Mantis, praying, | 317 |
| Lapps, | 217 | Manu, laws of, | 386, 392 |
| Law and punishment, | 343-347 | Maori, | 266 |
| Laws of Manu, | 386, 392 | Marshall Is., | 404 |
| <i>Lay</i> , | 289 | Maria Candelaria, | 40, 43 |
| Leaf-gathering, | 415 | Marriage, | 415 |
| Leaf-marriage, | 415 | "Mary Magdalene," | 12 |
| Leaving home, | 415 | Masai, | 409 |
| Legend of body and soul, | 78 | Masks, | 415 |
| Legend- <i>motifs</i> in Rabbinical liter-
ature, | 450 | Massim, | 404 |
| Leopold von Schroeder, | 217 | Master of life, | 10, 19, 20 |
| "Liberalism," | 341-343 | Mataco, | 399, 408 |
| License, | 415 | "Mathias the prophet," | 59, 65 |
| Lies, | 354-358, 415 | Mawata, | 385 |
| "Life, breath of," | 213 | Maximum degree of attention to
puberty, | 409-411 |
| Light from Ancient East | 78 | Mauvais Génie, | 432 |
| Lillooets | 402, 406, 410 | Mayas, | 40-43 |
| Lion, Nemean, | 451 | Maypole, | 450 |
| Lips, | 415 | Mecklenburg, | 303 |
| Literature of adolescence, | 377 | "Medicine," <i>passim</i> , | 1-49 |
| Literature of Christendom, | 296 | Megaspelaeon, | 316 |
| Lithuanian Tartars, | 218 | Melanesians, | 252, 384, 389 |
| "Little Italies," | 450 | Melguero, B., | 44 |
| Lkuñgen, | 406 | Men of reindeer period, | 219 |
| Locust superstitions, | 103 | Mendi, | 393, 409 |
| Loango, | 409 | Menstruation, | 335 |
| Lolos, | 390, 404 | Menstruation, primitive theories
of, | 382-404 |
| Lucky days, Egyptian, | 445 | Mercy, | 350-352 |
| Luseños, | 410 | Mesopotamian Christianity, | 316 |
| Lushei-Kuki, | 404 | Messiah, | 5, 31, 34, 46 |
| Lustration, | 415 | Metallurgy, evolution of, | 311 |
| | | Metaphysics, | 202 |
| Macusi, | 399 | Method of study of adolescence, | 376 |
| Madagascar, | 404 | Methodists, | 183, 187, 189, 190, 194 |
| Madonna conception, | 378 | Miami, | 20 |
| Magic and religion, 238-272, 422-
426, 427, 430 | | Micmacs, | 11-12 |

Mikir,	405	Nanigukun,	31
Milk,	415	Narcotics,	415
Millerites,	23	Narrinyeri,	404
Mind, French,	100	Nasal septum,	415
Mind, types of,	53	<i>Natio</i> ,	289
Minimum degree of attention to		<i>Nation</i> ,	289
puberty,	405, 406	Nattu,	385, 404
Mind, Modern and Jesus,	149	<i>Natura</i> ,	289
Mission Indians,	410	Nature, human,	80
Miwok,	405	Navaho,	405, 406, 411
Mixe,	40	Navel-string in folk-lore,	212
Modern American ballads,	103	Nayars,	386, 387, 407, 410
Modern belief in sorcery,	219	Nemean lion,	451
Modern criticism and origin of		New Britain,	384, 400, 404, 405, 410
church,	66-74	New Caledonia,	402, 404, 405
Modern man,	442	New education,	83
Mohammedanism,	209, 253	New Guinea,	384, 399, 405
Monastery of Megaspelacon,	316	"New religions" among Indians,	1-49
Mongol books,	439	New Zealand,	272
Montenegro,	220	Nez Percés,	34
Moon,	415	Nicobarese,	405
Moral ideas,	322, 331-332	Nigerians,	392
Moral life,	160	<i>Nith</i> -songs,	344, 345
Morals,	158, 160	Noah's ark,	83
Mormonism,	9	Nogi, General, suicide of,	107
Mother,	415	Nootka,	406
Mountain-ash in folk-lore,	219	Norse folk-tales,	272
Mpongwe,	263, 405	North Asia, shaman in,	299
Mud,	415	Novels, censorship of,	84
Muralug,	407	Nubians,	409
Murder,	352-353		
Muruts,	404	Oak and thunder-god,	451
Mutilation,	415	"Obeah" magic,	100
Mysteries, Bacchic,	128	Object-minded type,	53, 55
Mysteries, Olympic,	203	Occupation, priority of,	370
Mystery theory of menstruation,		Occupational psychosis,	334
	398-404	Oddens,	395, 410
Mythopoeia,	220	Ojibwa,	20, 21, 22, 39
Myths of deluge,	80, 106	Oglala Dakota,	411
		Old, treatment of,	365
Nagas,	381, 405	Old Calabar,	409
Nail,	415	Old World ballads,	441
Nakai'doklina,	39	Olot faith,	3
Nakedness,	415	Olympic mysteries,	203
Nambuthiris,	384, 392, 404	Omaha,	408, 411
Name,	336	Onas,	411
Names of stars, Bantu,	309	Oneidas,	16
Naming,	415	Orang Laut,	385, 405
Nandi,	409	Ordeals,	416

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Origin of Christian church, | 66 | Piercing, | 416 |
| Originality of primitive man, | 6 | Pima, | 262, 408 |
| Orphans, | 362 | Pit-fall cycle of folk-tales, | 273-278 |
| Ostia, cults of, | 307 | Pity, | 297 |
| Otans, | 410 | "Place-fellows," | 330-333 |
| Otati, | 407 | Plant-growth and women, | 108 |
| <i>Pagan</i> , | | Play, | 363 |
| Pagan Iroquois, | 18 | Plough, prehistoric, | 105 |
| Pagan races of Malay Peninsula, | | Poetry of women in Germany, | 437 |
| | 404-411 | Poison-carriers, flies as, | 100 |
| Pagan symbols, | 79 | Politeness, | 349, 350 |
| Pain-struggle, | 198 | Polynesia, | 404, 405, 406, 410 |
| Painting, | 416 | Polypharmacy, | 260 |
| Paiute, | 29, 32 | Pontiac, | 10 |
| Panans, | 404 | Pope, | 7, 8 |
| Papunhank, | 9 | Potawatomi, | 39, 411 |
| Papuans, | 389 | Practical wisdom, | 165 |
| Paradise, | 4 | Prairie tribes, | 400, 407, 410 |
| Parent and child, | 360-367 | Prayer, 180, 181, 182, 184, 187-189, | 416 |
| Parodies, | 453 | Praying mantis, | 317 |
| Passing out, | 416 | Pregnancy, | 335 |
| Past and present, | 317 | Prehistoric cart and plough, | 105 |
| Patheske, | 28 | Prehistoric society, | 204 |
| Patience, | 348 | Prehistoric times, | 207 |
| Patwin, | 405 | Prelibation, | 130 |
| Pawnee, | 408, 411 | Premature birth, | 335 |
| Paying, | 416 | Presbyterians, <i>passim</i> , | 187-193 |
| Peacefulness, | 348 | Presentation, | 416 |
| Pedagogical aspect of puberty- | | Priapus, | 129 |
| ceremonies, | 419, 420 | Primitive theories of menstrua- | |
| Peguans, | 410 | tion, | 387-404 |
| Peni, | 27 | Primitive thought, blacksmith in, | 97 |
| <i>People</i> , | 289 | Priority of occupation, | 370 |
| Perfume, | 416 | Problem of adolescent girl, | 376 |
| Persians, | 407 | Procession, | 416 |
| Peruvian "Prometheus Bound," | 104 | Prohibition of incest, | 294, 295 |
| Period, reindeer, | 219 | Prohibitions, | 416 |
| Peru, | 104, 106 | "Prometheus Bound," Peruvian, | 104 |
| Peulhs, | 409 | Property and trade, | 368-374 |
| Phallic worship, | 130, 381, 451 | Property, family, | 370 |
| Phillippine Is., | 3, 4, 388, 404, 405 | Property, house-mates', | 374 |
| Philology, comparative, | 300 | Property in land, | 370 |
| Philosophy, | 76, 84 | Property, personal, | 369 |
| Phoenicians, | 387 | Property-marks, | 372 |
| Physical theory of puberty, | 378-380 | Prophets, | 1-49-59-65 |
| Physiological prohibition of incest, | 219 | Prostitution, | 416 |
| Physiological theory of culture, | | Psychology, clinical, | 208 |
| | 223-237 | Psychology, cultural, | 223-237 |
| | | Psychology, history of, | 201 |

- Psychology of religion, 1-49, 50, 59,
59-65, 77, 111-123, 124-148, 175-
194, 238-272, 422-430
- Psychotherapy, 302
- Puberty, 124-148, 183, 375-421
- " Puberty-ceremonies," 404, 421
- Puberty, theories of, 377-404
- Pueblos, 7
- Public opinion, 343, 344
- Pulayans, 395, 404, 405, 407
- Pullavans, 395, 407
- Punishment, 343-347
- Puppets, 220
- Purging, 416
- Purification, 416
- Puritanism, last vestiges of, 102
- Quackery, 256-259
- Quechua, 411
- Race*, 288
- Race-contact, 318
- Race-contrasts, 297
- Races, 416
- Rattles, 416
- Reaction-time, 54
- Readings, devotional, 296
- Realism in art, 451
- Reflector-motor type, 53
- Region*, 288
- Reindeer period, men of, 219
- Relations, Japanese and American, 299
- Relatives, 416
- Religion and adolescence, 124, 128
- Religion and eroticism, 59-65
- Religion and magic, 238-272, 422-430
- Religion and taboo, 334-340
- Religion, change of, 182, 189
- Religion, Chinese, 111-123
- Religion, definition of, 238
- Religion, essence of, 182, 191
- Religion in contemporary philoso-
phy, 77
- Religion, Fijian, 313
- Religion of College students, 175-194
- Religion of Coras, 451
- Religion of negroes, 318
- Religious theory of menstruation,
380-382
- Religious training, 183
- " Religions, new," 1-49
- Religions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 319
- Religious architecture, Siamese, 319
- Religious beliefs of Eskimo, 335-340
- Religious consciousness, 50-58
- Religious experience, 88, 181
- Religious ideas and blue color, 98
- Religious song-ballads, 103
- Repetition, 416
- Republic*, 288
- Revelation, 15, 62
- Reviling, 416
- Rhythmic changes in folk-songs, 452
- Riddles, 416
- Rights, 416
- Ring, 416
- Rio Pilcomayo, 390
- " Rites de passage," 382
- Rites, puberty, 404-421
- Ritual, 88
- Roasting, 416
- Roro-speaking tribes, 404
- Sacrifice of dog, 217
- Sacrifices, 416
- Saibai, 3 5, 407
- Salinan, 405, 411
- Salishan, 383, 388, 402, 403, 406, 408
- Salutations, 349
- Samoa, 404
- Samoyeds, 217
- Sand, 416
- Sarcophagi, Chinese, 214
- Sardinia and Africa, 452
- Sauk, 411
- Saulteaux, 408
- Sauwa, 404
- Scarification, 416
- Scratch-stick, 416
- Scandinavian folk-lore, 273-278
- School management, 83
- School-parodies, 453
- Science of humanity, 80
- Schoetensack, O., 452
- Sea, 416
- Seclusion, 416
- Secondary theory of menstrea-
tion, 383

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| Secular songs of negroes, | 79 | Southern negroes, | 79 |
| Sectionalism, | 333 | " Spinning-wheel speeches," | 453 |
| Sedna, | 326 | Sprinkling, | 417 |
| Semites, | 301, 387 | Spirits, | 79, 195, 333 |
| Sequence theory, | 382 | Sta. Barbara, | 408 |
| Sense of communion with God, | 150 | Star, | 417 |
| Sense of justice and mercy, | 350, 352 | Star-names, Bantu, | 309 |
| Serpent, | 83 | State, | 287 |
| Seri, | 390, 408 | Statistics of " puberty-ceremonies," | 419 |
| Service, | 157 | St. Columba, | 432 |
| Sex, | 416 | Steaming, | 417 |
| Sex theory of menstruation, | 385 | Stinging, | 417 |
| Shakers, | 34 | Stones, | 417 |
| Shamanism, | 299, 327, 336 | Stone age, | 207 |
| Shans, | 404 | Stranger, | 285 |
| Shastas, | 401, 408, 411 | St. Sebastian, | 312 |
| Shawnee, | 19 | Students, religion of college, | 175-194 |
| Shekani, | 409 | Subanuns, | 388, 405 |
| Shintoism, | 106 | Suicide, | 417 |
| Shipping, Indian, | 307 | Suicide of Gen. Nogi, | 107 |
| Shoshone, | 383, 397, 408, 411 | Suk, | 404, 409 |
| Shuswap, | 383, 402, 408, 411 | Sun, | 417 |
| Sia, | 405 | Sung dynasty, | 117 |
| Siamese, | 385, 405 | Supalado faith, | 3 |
| Siamese religious architecture, | 319 | " Super-man " in Judaism, | 221 |
| Sieve, | 416 | Supernatural, beliefs about, | 335 |
| Silence, | 417 | Supernatural, evidence for, | 80 |
| Singing contest, | 344 | Superstition theory of menstrua- | |
| Sinhalese, | 389, 407 | tion, | 391-404 |
| Siva, | 127 | Survival of " bull-roarer " in Italy, | 454 |
| Skaniadario, | 14 | Sweat-bath, | 417 |
| Slavery, | 354 | Sweat-lodge, | 417 |
| Smohalla, | 32 | Swimming, | 417 |
| Sociability and politeness, | 347-350 | Swinging, | 417 |
| Sociability, instinct of, | 380 | Symbols, | 431 |
| Social maturity, external mark of, | 388, 391 | Sympathy, | 297, 352 |
| Social order, | 326, 331 | Syrians, | 392, 404 |
| Social relationship, | 78 | Systems of divine healing, | 303 |
| Social theory of menstruation, | 380 | | |
| Society, primitive, | 204 | Taboos, | 417 |
| Sociology and religion, | 421 | Taboos and religion, | 334-340 |
| Southwestern tribes, | 411 | Taboos and souls, | 337 |
| Song-ballads, | 103 | Taboos, underlying ideas of, | 339 |
| Songs, | 417 | Takelma, | 408, 411 |
| Sorcery, | 219 | Tahltans, | 406, 408, 411 |
| Soul and body, | 78 | Tali-tying, | 386 |
| Souls and taboos, | 337 | Taluks, | 405 |
| Souls of dead, | 336, 339 | Tamils, | 395, 410 |

Tangkhuls,	404	Tutu,	383, 410
Taoism,	123	Types, mental,	52
Tartars,	218	Tzentel,	40
Tarahumares,	405		
Tasmanians,	405	Uaupès tribes,	46, 406, 411
Tattooing,	417	Ucayali,	411
Tau-cross,	108	Ultimate reality,	165
Tävibo,	29	“ Unburnable books,”	454
Tecumseh,	20, 22	Unitarians,	194
Tehuantepec,	40	University of Giessen,	108
Tehuelches,	406	University of South Carolina,	175
“ Telepatina,”	319	Unselfishness,	157
Tests,	51, 54, 55	Unyumkwi,	419
Teutons,	297	Utes,	8, 9, 29
Thai,	404	Uzakle,	25
Theories of puberty,	377, 382		
Theories of menstruation, primi-		Vaï,	409, 421
tive,	382-404	Variation in attention paid to pu-	
<i>Theralikka</i> -ceremony,	387	berty,	404-412
Thompson Indians,	402, 408, 411	Varieties of magic,	240
<i>Thorp</i> ,	283	Varieties of religious relief,	175
Thought, independence of,	6	Variyars,	405
Thought, primitive,	97	<i>Vaterland</i> ,	288
Threads,	417	Veddass,	384, 389, 394, 404, 407
Tibetan books,	439	Veils,	417
Tide,	417	Velans,	396, 404
Tlingits,	401, 411	Venancio,	44
Todas,	386, 387, 404	Veneration of cow,	216
Togo-land,	406	Venezuela,	44
Tooth,	417	Vergil,	280
Tornaks,	336	Vergil in folk-lore,	221
Tornarsuk,	336	Vermin,	417
Torres Sts.,	385, 404	Vestiges of Puritanism,	102
Totem,	417	Vicente Christo,	47
Totemism,	417	Views, religious, change of, 182, 185, 189	
<i>Town</i> ,	283	Vigils,	418
Trade,	368-374	<i>Villa</i> ,	286
Transgression of taboos,	337	<i>Village</i> ,	284
Treatment of backward children,	208	Virgins,	41-44, 63
Tree,	417	Visual images,	54
Tree-climbing,	417	Volans,	387
<i>Tribe</i> ,	288	Volsungs,	83
Tribes,	327	Vomiting,	418
Truthfulness,	354-359	Votive-offerings,	221, 418
Tshi,	404, 405, 406	Vows,	418
Tsimshian,	25	Vuntakuchin,	416
Tubetube,	405		
Turcomans,	454	Wadjagga,	97
Turtle,	417	Wagawaga,	405

Waima,	405	Yaraikanna,	407
Wainamoinen,	83	Yesso,	95
Wakelbua,	407	Y. M. C. A.,	177, 181, 184
Wakumba,	97	Yokuts,	408
Wambuga,	405	Young,	97, 109, 125, 175, 375, 421
Wamira,	405, 407	Yowaluch,	35
Wanapûm,	32	Yucatan,	43
Wandering Jew,	221	Yucca,	8
Wanderings of European fairy- tales,	221	Yuchi,	400, 408
War,	352, 354	Yukon,	101
War-dance,	418	Yule I.,	389
Warramunga,	260	Yuyanapitgana,	34
Warriors,	418		
Washing,	418	Zaddik,	220
Water,	418	Zapotecs,	0
Well-being,	164	Zaun,	283
West Africa,	258, 260, 264	Zealots, religious,	59
West Indies,	86, 100	Zeus,	280
Whistling,	418	Zionism,	108
White man,	5	Zodiac,	116
Whydah,	263	Zoology,	237
Wick,	286	Zoomorphic images,	113
Wild, spirits of,	79	Zotzils,	44
Wine-drinking,	418	Zulus,	309, 411
Winnabago,	29	Zuñi, 8, 263, 405, 406, 408, 411, 419, 421	
Winter-thunder,	6, 27		
Wintun,	408, 411		
Wisdom,	164		
Witchcraft,	20, 87, 345		
Woman and plant-growth,	108		
Woman, poetry of,	437		
Women,	418		
Women in religious revolts, 12, 13,	15, 41-44		
Wood,	418		
Wooden images,	111, 123		
Work,	418		
World,	289		
Worship,	88		
Wovoka,	30, 32		
Writing,	10		
Wyandot,	21		
Yahgans,	411		
Yairesupo,	95		
Yakima,	32, 34		
Yam I.,	388, 411		
Yaos,	409, 421		

BOOKS REVIEWED

<i>A Contribution to a Bibliography of Henri Bergson,</i>	206
BETHLEEM, L.: Romans à lire et à proscrire,	84
BERGMANN, K.: Der Deutsche Wortschatz,	298
BLAKESLEE, G. H.: Japan and Japanese-American Relations,	299
BOUTROUX, E.: Science and Religion in Con- temporary Philosophy,	77
BOYDSTUN, J. F.: The Science of Human Nature,	80
BRANFORD, V.: St. Columba	432
VON BUTTEL-REEPEN, H.: Man and his Fore-runners,	440

- DE CALONNE-BEAUFAICT, A.:
Etudes Bakango, 302
- CASE, S. I.:
The Historicity of Jesus, 78
- CHEN HUANG CHANG:
The Economic Principle of Confucius and His School, 77
- CONNELL, J. M.:
A Book of Devotional Readings, 297
- DAY, L. H.:
The Folk-Tales of Bengal, 210
- DEISSMANN, A.:
Light from the Ancient East, 78
- DEROMPS, M.:
Les Vingt-cinq Récits du Mauvais Génie, 432
- DESSOIR, M.:
Outlines of the History of Philosophy, 201
- DUDLEY, L.:
The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and the Soul, 78
- FRAZER, J. G.:
Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, 79
- GEHRING, H.:
Racial Contrasts, 297
- GERLAND, G.:
Der Mythos von der Sintflut, 80
- GIVFFRIDA-RUGGERI, V.:
Homo Sapiens, 205
- GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI, V.:
L'uomo attuale, 442
- GODDARD, H. H.:
The Kallikak Family, 81
- GREGORY, P.:
Old World Ballads, 441
- HALL, A. S.:
A Glossary of Important Symbols, 79, 431
- HARDENBURG, W. L.:
The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise, 308
- HASTINGS, W. P.:
Education, 83
- HOERNES, M.:
Kultur der Urzeit, 207
- HOFFMAN-KRAYER, E.:
Feste und Bräuche des Schweizervolkes, 438
- HOLMES, A.:
The Conservation of the Child, 207
- HUNT, B.:
Folk-Tales of Breffny, 204
- HUNTINGTON, H.:
Cui Bono?, 80
- KITTREDGE, G. L.:
English Witchcraft and James the First, 87
- KITTREDGE, G. L.:
King James I and The Devil he is an Ass, 88
- LAUFER, B.:
Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion, 91
- LAUFER, B.:
A Descriptive Account of the Collection of Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Japanese Books in the Newberry Library, 439
- LEUBA, J. H.:
A Psychological Study of Religion, 77, 239-272
- McKAY, C.:
Constab Ballads, 68
- MARVIN, W. I.:
A First Book of Metaphysics, 202
- DE MEISSNER, S. R.:
There are no Dead, 194
- MINER, W. H.:
The Iowa, 209
- MOOKERJI R.:
Indian Shipping, 306
- ODUM, H. W.:
Folk-song and Folk-poetry in the Secular Songs of the Southern Negroes, 79
- VON ORELLI, K.:
Die philosophischen Fassungen des Mitleids, 297

- PETAVEL, J. W.:
The Coming Triumph of Christianity, 78
- PETRIE, W. M. F.:
The Formation of the Alphabet, 304
- REICHARDT, B. N.:
The Significance of Ancient Religions, 435
- RETKAR, S. V.:
An Essay on Hinduism, 80
- RICHARDSON, W.:
The Olympic Mysteries and Druid's Key, 203
- RUGE, A.:
Die Philosophie der Gegenwart, 84
- SEGAL, H.:
The Book of Pain-Struggle, 198
- SPIERO, H.:
Geschichte der deutschen Frauen-dichtung seit 1800, 437
- STADLING, J.:
Shamanismen i Norra Asien, 299
- TAYLOR, L. R.:
The Cults of Ostia, 307
The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 209
- TOPOLOVSEK, J.:
Die sprachliche Urverwand-schaft der Indogermanen, Semiten und Indianer, 300
- TUCKETT, I. L.:
The Evidence for the Super-natural, 80
- WATSON, F.:
Religious Refugees and English Education, 196
- WATSON, J.:
The Interpretation of Religious Experience, 88
- WEAVER, E. E.:
Mind and Health, 302
- WEULE, K.:
Die Urgesellschaft und ihre Lebensfürsorge, 204
- WOOLSEY, J. M.:
The Original Garden of Eden Discovered, 83
- WOOLSEY, J. M.:
The Discovery of Noah's Ark, 83
- WOSSIDLO, R.:
Aus dem Lande Fritz Reuters, 302
- PERIODICAL LITERATURE
- After-birth and navel-string in folk-lore, 212
- Ainu first-man, 95
- Andrew Lang, 212
- Antiquity of Aryan culture in Asia Minor, 95
- Art of the cave-man, 309
- Atlantis, 443
- Balkan civilization, 96
- Bantu star-names, 309
- Blacksmith in primitive thought, 97
- Blue color and religious ideas, 98
- Boundary-cult in ancient Rome, 98
- "Breath of life" and "dynamic spirit" among Sudan Negroes, 213
- "Bride-flight" in Italy, 443
- Broom superstitions, 98
- "Catching the moon", 213
- Children's Christmas-plays, 443
- Chinese sarcophagi, 214
- "Christos legend," 444
- Confucius, 310
- Congress of Religious Ethnology at Louvain, 444
- "Couvade", 99
- Cow-veneration in India, 216
- Culture-history and history, 99
- Definition of folk-lore, 445
- Devil in folk-lore, 217
- Dog-sacrifice, 217
- Egyptian "coffin-texts," 445
- Egyptian lucky days, 445
- Embalming, 446
- Eskimo population in Greenland, 446
- Ethnic etymology run mad, 446
- Ethnography and government, 447
- Ethnology and history, 447
- Ethnology of antiquity, 448
- Evolution of metallurgy, 311

Faust and St. Sebastian,	312	Nemean lion,	451
Fig-tree as child-god,	448		
Fijian religion,	313	Oak and thunder-god,	451
Fish-symbolism,	448		
Flies as poison-carriers in Obeah		Past and present,	317
"magic,"	100	Personification of death,	220
French mind	100	Peruvian "Prometheus Bound,"	104
		"Praying-mantis" in China,	317
Gregorian calendar,	448	Prehistoric carts and ploughs,	105
		Puppets,	220
"Happy hunting-ground,"	101		
"Heaven" of warriors,	101	Race-contact,	318
"Hell" and "heaven" in folk-wit,	102	Realism in art,	451
Herodotus and Mazdaism,	179	Religion of Cora Indians,	451
Homeric Geography,	314	Religion of Negroes of the West	
<i>Homo faber</i> and <i>Homo religiosus</i> ,	314	Indies and Guiana,	318
Hour-deities,	449	Religions in Bosnia-Herzegovia,	319
		Rhythm-changes in folk-songs,	452
Indian in European folk-lore,	449	Richard Andree's contributions to	
		the study of religion,	105
Karens of Burma,	449		
		Sardinia and Africa,	452
"Land of Lyonesse,"	316	Schoetensack, (O.),	452
Lapps and Samoyeds,	217	School-parodies,	453
Last vestige of Puritanism,	102	Shintoism,	106
Legend-motifs in rabbinical litera-		Siamese religious architecture,	319
ture,	450	"Spinning-wheel speeches,"	453
Leopold von Schroeder,	217	Suicide of General Nogi,	107
Lithuanian Tartars,	218	Survival of "bull-roarer" in Italy,	454
"Little Italies,"	450		
Locust and grasshopper supersti-		Tau-cross,	108
tions,	103	"Telepatina,"	319
		The "Zaddik" super-man in Golus	
May-pole in 16th and 18th cen-		Judaism,	220
turies,	450	Turcomans of Stavropol,	454
Men of the reindeer period and		"Unburnable" books,	454
Australians,	219		
Mesopotamian Christianity,	316		
Modern American religious song-		Vergil in folk-lore,	221
ballads,	103		
Modern belief in sorcery,	219	Wandering Jew,	221
Monastery of Megaspelacon,	316	Wanderings of European "fairy-	
Mountain-ash in folk-lore,	219	tales,"	221
Mythopoeia in Montenegro,	220	Women and plant-growth,	108

INDEX OF AUTHORS

(Those contributing original matter are in *italics*)

A. B.,	2	Bothár, D.,	448
Abbot, L.,	173	Bourke, J. G.,	407
Ackerblom,	2	Boutroux, E.,	76
Adamson,	72	Boydston, J. F.,	80
Alden, C. S.,	316	Boyle, D.,	17, 18, 48
Alexander,	146	Branford, V.,	433
<i>Allan, J.,</i>	175-194	Brinton, D. G.,	40-42, 43, 48, 345, 350, 354
Allen, W. C.,	66	Broca, P.,	379
Allis, S.,	24	Brown, A. J.,	299
d'Alviella, G.,	280, 296	von Buttel-Reepen, H.,	440
Amundsen, R., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374		
Andree, R.,	106, 380	Cabaton,	385, 394, 407, 409
Andree-Eysn, M.,	108	Caird, J.,	168, 173
Angas,	137, 148	Carus, P.,	439
d'Annunzio, G.,	312	Case, S. J.,	79
Appun, C.,	44, 48	Cartwright, G., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
Arndt, J.,	454	Catlin, G.,	21, 24, 48, 135, 148
Aristotle,	169	Ceston, J. M.,	379, 393
Asbjörnsen, C.,	272	Chadwick, W. E.,	78
Avé-Lallemant, R.,	44, 48	<i>Chamberlain, A. F.,</i>	1-49, 80-94, 95-109, 195-211, 212-222, 279-293, 296-308, 309-320, 326, 327, 345, 377, 389, 408, 431
Backus, E. C.,	104	Champault, P.,	314
Baldasseroni,	450	Chapman, J. W.,	101
Baldenne, F.,	107	Chen Huang Chang,	77
Bancroft, H. H.,	335, 349, 361	Christie,	388
Bandelier, A. F.,	8, 48	Chu Hi,	121
Barnum, F.,	327, 328, 331, 357, 362	Cirilli, R.,	217
Bartsch,	304	Clark,	15
Baudouin, M.,	105	Clark, A. H.,	100
Beauchamp, W. M.,	16, 19, 48	Clark, W. N.,	171
Beech, M. W. H.,	448	Clemen, C.,	449
Beechey, F. W.,	337, 348, 355, 360, 364, 371	Codrington,	252
Bethleem, L.,	84	Confucius,	27
Belden, H. M.,	103	Connell, J. M.,	296
Bellucci, G.,	212	Corso, R.,	443
Bernady, A. A.,	450	Courty, M. G.,	105
Bernhard, E.,	100	Cowper,	290
Berry, J. C.,	299	Crahmer, W.,	217
Boas, F., 6, 49, <i>passim</i> ,	321-374, 408, 411		

Crantz, D., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374	Farr, W.,	293
Crawley, A. E.,	380, 381, 384, 399	Fehlinger, H.,	293
Crevaux,	318	Fehrle, R.,	98, 103
Crooke, W.,	216	Firmino,	44
Cudmore, S. A.,	292, 293	Fisher, D.,	201
		Fletcher, A. C.,	408, 411
Dalager,	355, 356, 366, 371	Forbes,	141, 148
Dale,	393	Forsyth, P. T.,	173
Dale, R. W.,	173	Foster, T.,	209
Dall, W. H.,	327, 365, 379	Foucart, P.,	271
Dalton,	411	Fourrière,	446
Daniels, A. H.,	381, 387, 389	Fowler, W. W.,	451
Danks,	410	Frazer, J. G.,	79, 248, 380, 384, 396
Dasent, G. W.,	272, 278	Freud, S. G.,	378
Davenport,	142, 148	Frobenius,	380, 381
<i>Dawson, G. E.</i> ,	50-58	Furlong,	119, 147
Deismann, A.,	78	Furlong,	411
Delafosse, M.,	213		
Deniker, J.,	367	Gabbud, M.,	217
Dennett, R. E.,	254, 266	Gaillard, G.,	451
Deromps, M.,	432	Garvie, A.,	173
Dessoir, M.,	201	Garnett, L. M. J.,	271
Dewey, J.,	173, 322, 334	Gatschet, A. S.,	212
Dixon, R. B.,	389, 397, 401, 410, 411	Gehring,	297
Döhring, K.,	319	van Gennep, A.,	241, 380, 381
Dorman,	266	Gerland, G.,	80
Dorsey, J. O.,	126, 146	Giessler, W.,	297
Douglas, R. S.,	101	<i>Gilbertson, A. N.</i> ,	273-278, 321-374
Dubartas, G.,	287, 293	Gillen,	260, 387, 394, 410
Dúbi, H.,	450	Gillet, J. E.,	221
Dudley, L.,	78	Giuffrida-Ruggeri, V.,	205, 442
Durham, E.,	320	Goddard, H. H.,	81
Durkheim, E.,	246, 272, 422-424	Goddard, P. E.,	410, 411
Dvorak, R.,	310	Van Goethem,	389
		Goldenweiser, A. A.,	381
Eells, M.,	35, 48	Goodale,	383
Egede, H., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374	Gordon,	327
Egede, P., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374	Graebner,	224
Eisler, R.,	448	Gray,	409, 410, 411, 412
Elliott, H.,	332, 349	Gregory, P.,	441
Ellis, A. B.,	259, 263, 406	Grinnell, G. B.,	400
Ellis, H.,	378, 397, 408, 420	Grosse, E.,	420
Emmons,	411	Grube, W.,	310
Engell, M. C.,	446	Gundel, W.,	449
Ennemoser,	131, 147	Gutmann, B.,	97
Enock, C. R.,	308		
		Haberlandt,	326
Falb, R.,	301	Haddon, A. C.,	322, 324, 343, 380
Farfarowsky, M.,	454	Haeckel, E.,	121, 146

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Halfyard, S. F., | 173 | Kanokogi, K., | 106 |
| Hall, | 22 | Keller, A. G., | 162 |
| Hall, A. S., | 79 | Kidd, B., | 173, 259, 263, 393, 394 |
| Hall, C. C., | 168, 171, 173 | Kilpatrick, T. B., | 156, 173 |
| Hall, C. F., | 335, 343, 350, 364, 365 | King, H. C., | 167, 173 |
| Hall, G. S., | 145, 377 | Kingsley, M., | 258 |
| Hans Hendrik, | 352 | Kisch, | 379 |
| Hardenburg, W. E., | 308 | Kissenberth, W., | 99 |
| Harrison, F., | 272 | Kittredge, G. L., | 87 |
| Hartman, C., | 299 | Klemen, D. A., | 2 |
| Hastings, J., | 67, 259 | Klutschak, H. W., | 335, 347, 354, 367 |
| Hastings, W. P., | 83 | Knight, R. P., | 147 |
| Heckewelder, J. G., | 48 | Knowlson, | 267, 268 |
| Hewitt, J. N. B., | 14, 16, 48 | Koch-Grünberg, T., | 44-47, 49, 390, |
| Hobhouse, W., | 173 | | 399, 411 |
| Hobley, C. W. E., | 398, 409 | König, C., | 211 |
| Hocart, A. M., | 258, 313 | Köppen, | 148 |
| Hodge, F. W., | 8, 48 | Kroeber, A. L., | 251, 327, 331, 410 |
| Hodson, | 389 | Kromer, H., | 449 |
| Hoernes, M., | 207 | Kropotkin, P. A., | 345 |
| Hofmann-Krayer, E., | 433 | Kunike, H., | 432 |
| Hollis, A. C., | 393, 409 | Labat, | 411 |
| Holm, G., <i>passim</i> , | 321-374 | Landis, E. B., | 389, 410 |
| Holmberg, H. J., | 332, 335, 354 | Lang, A., | 212 |
| Holmes, A., | 208 | Latham, R. G., | 325 |
| Holmes, W. H., | 431 | <i>Lauffer, B.</i> , | 91, 111-123, 214, 317, 432, |
| Hooper, W. H., | 27, 49 | | 439 |
| Horodsky, S. A., | 220 | Lavington, | 143, 147 |
| Houtsma, M. T., | 109 | Lawrence, R. E., | 256 |
| Howard, | 147 | Le Bon, G., | 287, 293 |
| Howitt, A. W., | 394, 407 | LeClercq, C., | 12, 49 |
| Hubert, | 422-425 | Leffingwell, A., | 290, 293 |
| Huggins, E. L., | 49 | Legendre, | 390 |
| Hunt, B., | 204 | Lehmann-Haupt, | 95 |
| Huntington, H., | 80 | Leighton, J. A., | 173 |
| Hutton, S. K., | 336, 337, 342, 349, 361, 371 | Leland, C. G., | 281, 293 |
| | 379 | <i>Leuba, J. H.</i> , | 76, 238, 272, 422, 426, |
| Hyrtil, | | | 427, 430 |
| Illingworth, J. R., | 173 | Liddon, H. P., | 173 |
| Inge, | 68 | Lindsay, | 67 |
| Inman, | 132 | Lippert, | 380 |
| Iver, <i>passim</i> , | 375-421 | Littmann, B., | 393, 409 |
| | | Lombroso, C., | 148 |
| James, W., | 17 | Loria, L., | 447 |
| Jenks, A. E., | 3, 349, 384 | Louère, | 385 |
| Jennings, H., | 132, 146, 147 | Louie, R. H., | 383, 397, 402, 407, |
| Jones, R. M., | 173 | | 408, 411 |
| Joyce, | 409 | Lumholtz, C., | 432 |
| | | Lyon, | 359 |

Macculloch,	402	Murdoch, J., <i>passim</i> ,	321-37
Macculloch, J. A.,	173	Myers, C. S.,	259
MacCurdy, G. G.,	431		
MacDonald,	264	Nansen, F., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
MacDonald,	407	Nash, H. S.,	272
Maclean, J.,	49	Nassau,	409
MacIer,	387	Nelson, E. W., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
Mahoudeau, P. G.,	443	Niebuhr,	407
Main, J.,	272	Nordenskiöld, A. E., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
Maler, T.,	43, 49	Nordenskiöld, E.,	390, 399, 408, 412
Man, E. H.,	407		
Marett,	241, 325	Odum, H. W.,	79
Marmostein, A.,	450	van Orelli, K.,	297
Martin, C. A.,	451	Osborn, H. F.,	317
Marvin, W. J.,	202	Osler, W.,	259
Marzell, H.,	108	Owen, M.,	400, 407, 408, 410, 411
Mason, J. A.,	221		
Mason, O. T.,	224, 325, 342, 373	Palmer, G. H.,	166
Matthews, W.,	323, 353, 357, 411	Pan Ku,	121
Matthew, S.,	68	Parker,	263, 264
Maundeville, J.,	279, 293	Parker, A. C.,	17, 49
Mauss,	422, 425	Parkman, F. G.,	49
<i>Mayer-Oakes, F. T.</i> ,	149-174	Partridge,	399, 409
McConnell, S. D.,	173	Paulsen, F.,	173, 213
McGee, W. J.,	390, 441	Peabody, F. G.,	167
McKay, C.,	86	Peary, R. E., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
McKenny,	22	van Pelt, G. W.,	444
Meier, S.,	449	Pettazzoni, R.,	452, 454
de Meissner, S. R.,	195	Petavel, J. W.,	78
Merker,	409	Petrie, W. M. F.,	304
Messing, O.,	310	Pickel, G.,	297
Migne,	294	Pigorini-Beri, C.,	443
Milligan, R. H.,	261, 263, 271	Pilsudski, B.,	94
Mills, B. F.,	145	Pitt-Rivers,	322
Miner, W. H.,	209	Plato,	174
Mirtil, M.,	96	Ploss, H., <i>passim</i> ,	375-421
Mochi, A.,	447	Pogue, J. E.,	98
Moe, M.,	272	Post, A. B.,	405
Mookerji, R.,	306	Polter	146, 147
Mooney, J., <i>passim</i> ,	7-36, 353	Powers,	408, 411
Morgan, L. H.,	15, 49		
Morice, A. G.,	25, 26, 27, 49, 396, 410	Quiroga, A.,	431
<i>Morse, J.</i> ,	175-194		
Mortimer,	131, 147	Rabe, J. E.,	220
Mudge, J. G.,	207	Rand, S. T.,	11, 47
Muirhead, J. H.,	173	Rasmussen, K.,	12, 49; <i>passim</i> , 321-374
<i>Muller, H. F.</i> ,	294	Reade,	138
Müller, H. E.,	453	Reese, D. M.,	65
Musil, A.,	326		

Reichard, E. N.,	435	Selwyn,	266
Reinach, S.,	95, 219, 294, 420	Seyffert, C.,	448
Rémond, A.,	312	Shaw, C. G.,	174
Retkar, S. V.,	80	Skeat, W. W.,	384
Richardson, W.,	203	Skinner, A. B.,	408
Rink, H., 269, <i>passim</i> ,	321-374	Smyth, N.,	167, 174
Rivers, W. H. R.,	324, 361, 362, 386	Söderblom, N.,	299
Robertson, W.,	203	Somló,	373
Roeder, G.,	445	Soula, C.,	312
Rogers, R. A. P.,	174	Speck, F. G.,	400, 408, 411
Roscoe, J.,	392, 406	Spencer,	260, 380, 381
Ross,	130, 147	Spencer and Gillen,	387, 394, 410
Roth, W. E. L.,	410	Spiero, H.,	437
Routledge,	398, 409	Spieth,	406
Rowland, G. M.,	299	Spinden, H. J.,	432
Royce, J.,	271	Sproat, G. M.,	410
Ruge, A.,	84	Stadling, J.,	299
Russell, F.,	408	Stalker, J.,	174
Russell, T. B.,	271	Staudemaier, L.,	272
Rust, H. N.,	411	St. Clair,	397, 399
		Stefánsson, V.,	333, 341, 355
Sabbe, M.,	212	Stevens, G. B.,	174
Saladin,	147	Stevenson, M. C.,	388, 408, 411
Samter, E.,	212, 381	Stoll, O.,	409, 410
Sanday, W.,	174	Stückrath, O.,	452
Sanger,	129, 147	Strachan, L. R. M.,	78
Sapir, E.,	265, 408, 411	Stratton, G. M.,	268, 424
Sapper, C.,	43, 49	Sullivan,	148
Sarasin,	407	Sumner, W. G.,	332
Sauer,	360	Swanton, J. R., 28, 49, 324, 401,	402, 407, 408
Schell, O.,	219		
Scheftelowitz, J.,	432		
Schmidt, G.,	224		
Schmidt,	444	Tanner,	22
Schoetensack, O.,	452	Teit, J.,	383, 402, 408, 410, 411
Schoolcraft, H. R.,	29, 49	Tennant, E. K.,	272
Schremen, B.,	454	Terzaghi, N.,	451
Schrijnen, J.,	445	Thalbitzer, W.,	333, 345, 336, 360, 362
Schröder, E.,	102	Thomas,	380, 392, 393
<i>Schroeder, T.</i> ,	59, 65, 124-148, 381	Thompson, A. C.,	29, 49
Schullerus, P.,	220	Thompson, B.,	420
Schurtz, H.,	380	Topolovsek, J.,	300
Schwieger,	221	Tremearne, A. J. N.,	271
Scott, E. F.,	167	Tucket, J. L.,	80
Segal, H.,	198	Tufts,	160, 161
Seler, E.,	104	Turner,	146, 148
Seligmann, C. G., 325, 384, 385,		Turner, L. M., <i>passim</i> ,	321-374
	389, 407, 411	Turner, W.,	163, 174
Seligsohn, M.,	209	Tylor, E. B.,	323, 345, 380

<i>Van Waters, M.</i> ,	375-421	Webster, H.,	379
Vergil,	280	Weigand, L. K.,	298
Vierkandt, A.,	6, 49	Weisgerber, W.,	446
Volkart, H.,	453	Wendt, H. H.,	174
Voltaire,	146	Wentzel, F.,	443
		Werner, A., 264, 309, 398, 406,	
			409, 421
Waldemann, G.,	335, 336, 366, 371	Westermarck, E., 162, 322, 331,	
<i>Wallis, W. D.</i> ,	238-272, 427		354, 356, 357, 359, 379, 391
Walker, W. L.,	174	Westropp,	137, 146
Wardle, H. N.,	336	Wintenberg, W. J.,	431
Warren,	22	<i>Whatham, A. E.</i> ,	66-74
Warren, C. M.,	299	Whitehead,	256
Warren, S. H.,	316	Wilhelm, R.,	310
Watson, F.,	196	<i>Wissler, C.</i> ,	223, 237, 262, 309
Watson, J.,	88-91, 174	Woolsey, I. M.,	83
<i>Weatherley, A. L.</i> ,	75-76	Workman,	145, 148
Weber, L.,	314	Wundt, W.,	159, 174, 359

